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Between power and protest

The Japan Times and Anpo-protests in 1960

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract</p> <p>The aim of this thesis is to research Japan-U.S. Security Treaty protests in 1960 in global context. The Anpo-protests were selected as research topic because not much research was found of the protests. Anpo-protests begun in 1959 and ended in late 1960. The main motive was to oppose revision of U.S.-Japan Security Treaty but eventually protests led to resignation of the prime minister Kishi Nobusuke. The protests were the largest in Japanese history and left their legacy to Japanese political history and civil society.</p> <p>Scholars have researched Anpo-protests to some extent. However, the Anpo-protests have not been analysed in Worldwide context of Cold war which is why transnational history got selected as primary theoretical framework for this thesis.</p> <p>This thesis uses the Japan Times as the primary source. The Japan Times is Japan's oldest English language newspaper firstly published in 1897. As for main method theory-guided content analysis was used. Analysis was carried out with coding in which Atlas.ti software was used. Theory of historical study of images got selected as second theoretical framework after transnational history because this thesis aims to construct comprehensive image of the Anpo-protests from the lens of the Japan Times.</p> <p>The research question asks how the Anpo-protests are portrayed in the Japan Times. The goal of the research question is to find out whether the Anpo-protests were portrayed as transnational in the Japan Times. This thesis is interested if the Anpo-protests had transnational influences.</p> <p>The results of the analysis indicate that the Japan Times is mainly interested certain issues, such as who are protesting, why they are protesting and how the protests are carried out. The codes that appear most frequently are communism, students and protests techniques.</p> <p>During the analysis over 1200 codes were reduced into 16 categories which were evolved further into themes. The themes are social unity of Japanese people, legitimacy and transnationalism. Social unity represents how people who were breaking the cohesion of society are judged on the newspaper. Legitimacy deals with the issue of what is legal and what is not. Transnationalism pays interests on transnational influences of the Anpo-protests such as peace activism, communism and democratic ideals.</p> <p>All themes express change in Japanese society. Results explain how the conception of peace, democracy, authority, violence and social unity changed due the Anpo-protests. The results indicate that Anpo-protests were portrayed transnationally to some extent on the Japan Times. Thus, Anpo-protests may have had some transnational connections. Broader analysis would offer more reliable results and thus this thesis serves only as a brief outlook to the Anpo-protests. However, this thesis offers valuable information of the Japan Times itself and of the major change in Japanese society that has often left without notice. Anpo-protests itself served as transnational influence on other protests which evolved later in the 1960s.</p>			
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For my father and mother

who taught me what it means to be a humanist and a social scientist.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical background of Anpo-protests

In many ways the present situation reminds us of those hectic days in the middle and late 1930's when the extremists and the moderates waged a tug-of-war over the national policy – whether or not Japan should align herself with the Berlin-Rome axis. The extremist won that battle to the lasting regret of the Japanese people. Unfortunately, history can repeat itself, unless the good sense of the majority of the Japanese people prevails.¹

Previous quote describes the feelings of Cold War in 1960 Japan very precisely. In the shadow of World War II people feared that history would repeat itself if people did not act wisely. In this context, being wise meant being moderate. Japan, like many other countries, tried to balance between East and West. However, not all Japanese were afraid to express their opinions. These people stepped out to the streets in a way that changed Japanese society for good.

This thesis addresses Japanese nation-wide protests that started in 1959 and escalated in the summer 1960 into massive protest phenomenon. Japan, which was slowly recovering from the horrors of World War II under U.S. occupation was preparing to revise Security Treaty with the United States. Japanese political history during Cold War has gained attention among university students and academic scholars around the World but not much attention has been paid to the Security treaty protests of the 1960. Many generic books about U.S-Japan foreign relations and Japanese political history have been published in English which pay little attention to Security treaty protests.

The original Security treaty was signed in 1952. Security treaty allowed the U.S. troops to remain in Japan but both the U.S. and Japanese conservative party (LPD) wanted to revise it. The idea of the new treaty was to give more freedom to Japan but also keep Japan as U.S. ally in the heated Cold war situation. In a sense the revision was part of diplomatic game, and many Japanese people understood it. Japanese, who were tired of their conservative politicians and the U.S. influence in their country started to protest revision. Students, labour workers and many more marched

¹ The Japan Times. 11.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 7.10.2020.

on the streets and clashed violently with the police authorities. People felt that revised treaty was against the Japanese constitution and neutrality. Some were worried that it would draw Japan to unwanted conflicts.²

These so called Anpo-protests started as minor student movement against revision of U.S.-Japan Security Treaty but expanded later into mass movement. Protestors demanded resignation of the prime minister Nobosuke Kishi, opposed the U.S. foreign policy and Japanese conservative politics. The treaty was approved in May 1960 which led to escalation of the protests and resignation of prime minister Kishi. Shortly after resignation the protests calmed down. However, Anpo-protests left their legacy to Japanese society that led to further protests over following years.

I became interested about the research topic by coincidence. After writing my Master of Philosophy thesis about anti-Americanism in contemporary South Korea I was very curious about anti-Americanism in Japan. During the master's research seminar, I evolved my interests and studied more about Japan-U.S. relations during Cold war. Cold war has always been an interest of mine because of its consequences can be still seen in the current societies. Japanese Cold war history was also a bit unknown to me and it felt as a good thing for the sake of my thesis. After telling my professor about my thoughts he suggested that I should read more about the Security treaty protests which I had never heard before. Finally, I decided to choose Anpo-protests as my research topic because the event combined two issues that have always fascinated me – Japan and 1960s civil society.

The research question is formed by means of research literature, research material and theoretical framework. This thesis asks how Anpo-protests are portrayed in the Japan Times. The research question is posed in order to find out whether the Anpo-protests were portrayed transnationally in the Japanese English language newspaper, the Japan Times. Research framework is introduced next.

² Schaller, M. (2010). Japan and the Cold War, 1960–1991. In Leffler, M. P. & Westad, O. A. The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 3, Endings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 159.

1.2 Research literature

Some scholars have researched the Security treaty protest solely and they serve as important secondary source for this thesis. The fields of study that this research associates with are political history, sociology and East-Asian studies. Studies of protests movements are adopted to the research on some level, but the focus is more on the Japanese society as whole. Some literature from the fields of media studies are appointed in order to understand Japanese media in the context of 1960s. This thesis has a very multidisciplinary research framework, but the focus is on socio-political history. Not too much emphasis is paid to cultural aspects because otherwise the topic would be too broad for master's thesis.

Many books handle Anpo-protests from the point of political and diplomatic history. The political history of modern Japan: Foreign relations and domestic politics (2018) by Shinichi Kitaoka³ is a useful review of Japanese Cold War political history and handles Anpo-protests briefly. Also, Georg R. Packard, senior scholar and president of the U.S.-Japan foundation (1998-October 2019) has published a comprehensive study *Protest in Tokyo: The security treaty crisis of 1960* (1966)⁴. The book offers general information about Japanese political history and describes Japanese political situation before, midst and after the Anpo-protests and serves as a major information source to this thesis. Packard's book was published shortly after the protests and differs from other literary sources significantly. Both volumes see the protests either as a movement against the revision of the U.S.-Japan Security treaty or as more personally inclined protests in opposition to the prime minister Kishi Nobusuke.

Packard and Kitaoka have focused on political aspects of the Security treaty protests whereas both Takemasa Ando and Hiroe Saruya have researched Japanese civil movements in their dissertations. Ando's dissertation (2010) *Japanese New Left Movements and their Legacy for Civil Society*⁵ explains the rise of leftist movements in Japanese society, including student movements and anti-war movements that were

³ Kitaoka, S., Eldridge, R. D. & Leonard, G. (2018). *The political history of modern Japan: Foreign relations and domestic politics*. London: New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

⁴ Packard, G. R. (1966). *Protest in Tokyo: The security treaty crisis of 1960*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

⁵ Ando, Takemasa (2010). *Japanese New Left Movements and their Legacy for Civil Society*. Dissertation, Australian National University.

both closely related to Anpo-protests. Ando emphasizes the legacy of Anpo-protests to Japanese civil movements and offers detailed information about the protests.

Similarly, Hiroe Saruya addresses importance of Anpo-protests to Japanese democratic development in *Protests and Democracy in Japan: The Development of Movement Fields and the 1960 Anpo Protests* (2012)⁶. Saruya argues that Anpo-protests were not coherent movement and that Anpo-protests emerged due competition between different social movement groups. These competing groups had different understandings of concept of democracy as well. Saruya uses field theory as theoretical framework and has conducted 18-month fieldwork in Japan by interviewing Anpo-protestors.⁷ Saruya's thesis thus offers important information of the protestors themselves. Dissertation's of Saruya and Ando offer more comprehensive image of Japanese social movements from sociological aspect and emphasize the Anpo-protests' impact on Japanese society.

Simon Avenell's book *Making Japanese citizens: Civil society and the mythology of the Shimin in postwar Japan* (2010)⁸ introduces concept of shimin, active social citizen to which Anpo-protests had major influence. Avenell's book (2010) is a useful overview into Japanese civil society during, and after Anpo-protests and offers interesting arguments for the possible causes of Anpo-protests. On contrary to Saruya, Avenell argues that Anpo-protests were a breakthrough for Japanese civil activism and changed the concept of shimin from passive to active. After Anpo, the activists formed two streams of civic activism; conscientious reaction to conservative suppression (for example anti-Vietnam mobilization) and other more mannered and pragmatic response that led to reconfiguration of civic activism in the whole country. Conscientious civic activism was popular among cultural and political groups whereas other citizens were supporting more down-to-earth pragmatic civil activism.⁹ Thus, the activism was more unified than Saruya argues.

Other important scholars are Michael Schaller and his works about Japanese-U.S. relations during Cold War, for example *Altered States: The United States and Japan*

⁶ Saruya, H. (2012). *Protests and Democracy in Japan: The Development of Movement Fields and the 1960 Anpo Protests*. A dissertation. The University of Michigan.

⁷ Saruya 2012.

⁸ Avenell, S. A. (2010). *Making Japanese citizens: Civil society and the mythology of the Shimin in postwar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁹ Avenell 2010, 64-65; 91.

since Occupation (1997).¹⁰ Also, Yamamoto Mari's *Grassroots pacifism in post-war Japan: The rebirth of a nation* (2004)¹¹ helps to understand not only pacifism but grassroots movements as whole in 1950s and 1960s Japan.

Scholars have often seen Anpo-protests either as the rise of the civil society or a part of diplomacy of the U.S.-Japan relations. Majority of the scholars who have researched Anpo-protests seem to agree on the general causes and outcomes of the protests. Most of the scholars have researched the Anpo-protests from certain aspect such as New-left, civic activism, U.S.-Japan relations or domestic politics. However, not many have paid attention to transnational aspect which caught my interest. After placing the protests into Worldwide context, I begin to wonder whether the Anpo-protests had transnational connections. Thus, this thesis approaches the Security treaty protests from transnational aspect by analyzing the news of the Japan Times.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The Anpo-protests are analyzed within theoretical framework of transnational history and historical study of images. Both are relatively new theoretical frameworks and focus on hidden patterns of previously researched history that have been left unacknowledged. In this thesis, transnational history means paying more emphasis on people, movements and ideas across the nation borders. In other words, this thesis is trying to understand the Anpo-protests and their whole historical context from more transnational point of view.

Transnationalism was chosen as main theoretical framework because not many scholars have studied the protests from transnational point of view. Historian Nick Kapur is the only scholar that has paid more recognition on transnational aspect of the Anpo-case. His volume *Japan at the crossroads: Conflict and compromise after Anpo* (2018)¹² serves as an important source for this thesis. Kapur provides lots of information of the Security treaty protests and offers insight to influences that the Security treaty had on Japanese society in the fields of media, culture and politics.

¹⁰ Schaller, M. (1997). *Altered states: The United States and Japan since the occupation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹¹ Yamamoto, M. (2004). *Grassroots pacifism in post-war Japan: The rebirth of a nation*. London ; New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

¹² Kapur, N. (2018). *Japan at the crossroads: Conflict and compromise after Anpo*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

The works of Kapur are relatively fresh (article in 2017)¹³ which implies that transnational viewpoint is still in its baby steps. Transnational history has gained interest only during last twenty years which partly explain its lack of recognition in the academia.

The hypothesis of this thesis assumes that Anpo-protests were transnational phenomenon to some extent. Thus, it is expected that the Japan Times portrays transnational image of the Anpo-protests. Transnational approach to history became mainstream in 1990's when historians started to look beyond nations and borders partly due globalization and growing interests to interrelations between people during history. According to Pierre Yves-Saunier, there are three big issues that transnational historians try to address. First, historicization of contacts between communities, polities and societies. Secondly, acknowledgement of foreign contributions on domestic features within communities and vice versa. Thirdly, transnational history deals with models, trends, organizations and individuals that have lived between and through these entities that are used as units of historical research.¹⁴ In short, transnational history observes people, groups and processes that have been unacknowledged by historians because of their transnational nature.

Another scholar, Sidney Tarrow, has explored transnational activism in his book *The New Transnational Activism* (2005).¹⁵ Tarrow focuses on unconscious transnationalism that occurs via everyday activities. The transnational claims are tied to the resources, networks, and events of the societies the people live in. At the same time, transnational activism connects the local to the global and transforms constantly. Thus, transnational activism shapeshifts between many levels. Main argument is that transnational activism is both constrained and supported by domestic networks which activate transnational actions between nation states and international actors. This process can lead to new ways of constructing domestic issues or even forming new identities fused by international and domestic

¹³ Kapur, N. (2017). Mending the "Broken Dialogue": U.S.-Japan Alliance Diplomacy in the Aftermath of the 1960 Security Treaty Crisis. *Diplomatic History*, 41(3).

¹⁴ Saunier, P. (2013). *Transnational history*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 3, 27-29.

¹⁵ Tarrow, S. (2005). *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge University Press.

connections.¹⁶ These ideas are useful for the material analysis since they clarify the connections between transnational actors that occur in several levels of society.

Most of the scholars have understood Anpo-protests as domestic phenomenon which was born out of issues related to Japanese society and politics. Kapur explains how Anpo-protests became worldwide news in the summer of 1960 and how the protests had influence on other protests movements, such as anti-Vietnam war movement and student movements later in the 60s. Western protestors were inspired by Anpo-protestors and their unique techniques such as snake dance.¹⁷ However, this thesis tries to find out whether the Anpo-protests itself were somehow influenced by other protests or revolutions.

How is historical study of images related to this thesis? I decided to implement this specific theory because what this thesis is trying to find out is what the Japan Times writes about the protests, why and for what purpose. In other words, how the Anpo-protests are portrayed and why? The goal is to understand a broader image of the phenomenon (Anpo-protests). What kind of image the Japan Times wanted to present and what it tells about the underlying socio-cultural phenomenon?

Historical study of images is focused on images that different cultures have of their own or some other country's national character. Image research in general has a long tradition however in the field of historical image research professor Olavi K. Fält has served as a pioneer. According to Fält image is "longer lasting and more durable than an opinion or attitude and that images are simplifications of the reality which they describe". Image is sort of a map in our heads which tries to portray reality as it is but is often filtered out of some details. Images are highly permanent and often unfavorable towards differences such as different cultures, that are often stereotypically simplified. However, images can change through powerful emotions or dramatic events. Historical image research is focused on what the image is like, why and what purpose it serves.¹⁸

¹⁶ Tarrow. (2005). 2-3.

¹⁷ Kapur (2018). 3-4.

¹⁸ Fält, Olavi K. (2002). Introduction. In Alenius, K., Fält, O., & Jalagin, S. Looking at the other: historical study of images in theory and practise . Oulun yliopisto., 7-12.

Image constitutes of experiences, feelings and information that the creator of the image has at certain time and place. Also, personal background, upbringing, personality and political reality have their own influence on how the certain person constitutes image of something.¹⁹ Historical context and zeitgeist play great importance as well. All historical times represent their own realities and a researcher needs to understand this profoundly. The writers of the Japan Times each lived in their own realities, but a historian understands influences of each historical reality. Thus, historical study of images is focused on the creator of the image. This is because each person has their own subjective images of certain issues.²⁰ Historian, however, cannot always expose images of subjective mind, especially if the research subject has occurred a long time ago.

Historical study of images is often implemented in the analysis of cross-cultural encounters. As noted, images of different and distant cultures tend to be stereotypical. However, the Japan Times was familiar with Japanese culture. The subject of this thesis is not necessarily cross-cultural since the focus is not on how American newspaper displays Anpo-protests. Yet, since The Japan Times was aimed for the foreigners in Japan, it makes the newspaper cross-cultural and through this, focuses on the American side on some level.

Olavi K. Fält has also researched Japanese English language newspapers in *Fascism, Militarism or Japanism? The interpretation of the crisis years of 1930 - 1941 in the Japanese English-language press*²¹. Japanese-English language press is interesting source of image research since it exists between two different cultures. Thus, it is not so restricted on national boundaries.

1.4 Research material

Selection of the material and methods proved to be most difficult task of this research. I had thought of using newspapers or magazines as my primary source because conducting media analysis had been my research goal for some time. After coming familiar with Anpo-protests I decided to use newspapers as my primary

¹⁹ Boulding, Kenneth (1956). *The Image, Knowledge in life and Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

²⁰ Fält 2002, 9.

²¹ Fält, O. (1985). *Fascism, militarism or Japanism? : the interpretation of the crisis years of 1930-1941 in the Japanese English-language press*. Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys.

source. Because of my rusty Japanese language skills, it was evident that I would have to use English language material instead of Japanese which clearly reduced the options of this research. Furthermore, not many English language materials of the period of the 1960s were available for online access. Therefore, the English language material that was most easily accessed and covers the chosen time period (1959-1960) became chosen to be the main material of this thesis.

The Japan Times is largest and oldest English language newspaper in Japan and describes itself as the only independent Japanese English language newspaper. This thesis analyzes the issues between October 1959 to September 1960. This is because Anpo-protests lasted roughly one year from fall 1959 to September 1960. The Japan Times is easily accessed online via the Japan Times digital archives.²²

The Japan Times has not been often used as research material and therefore not largely researched. Thus, I expect to find some interesting information of the researched time period and perhaps I'll be able to make some conclusions on how the English-language media wanted to portray Japan to the rest of the World. I also find the Japan Times interesting because its position in Japanese media scene in the 1960s. It claimed to be free of any political associations but at the same time it supported the government policy often. The Japan Times was international magazine, Japan's link to the World and vice versa. Thus, I think the Japan Times offers interesting aspects to this specific issue especially when you look it from transnational point of view.

As for my second material source I was planning on using on the magazine called "Contemporary Japan", which was published in 1932-1970 by the semi-official Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. Contemporary Japan published up-to-date, critical, long-form journalism by Japanese and Western commentators on East Asia. Contemporary Japan had close ties to Japanese government which would have been taken into consideration.²³ Because of COVID-19 pandemic Helsinki university library was not able to process interlibrary loans and I had to abandon the idea of another primary source. Second primary source would have offered more comprehensive image of the Anpo-protests.

²² The Japan Times archives. <https://info.japantimes.co.jp/archives/>. Access 21.10.2020.

²³ Dower, J. W. (1986). Japanese history & culture from ancient to modern times: Seven basic bibliographies. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 182.

1.5 Theory-guided content analysis

The analysis of the Japan Times is carried out with theory-guided content analysis. Theory-guided content analysis means that the theoretical framework (transnationalism) guides the content analysis of the Japan Times. Content analysis researches textual content of the material and theory serves as assistance to the analysis but does not determine it completely. Content analysis tries to find out what the source (content) is saying or trying to say.²⁴ The method allows the Japan Times to be heard. However, with the help of the theoretical framework it is possible to view the results from certain viewpoint.

I chose theory-guided content analysis as the main method because it allows me to analyze the primary source systematically and objectively. It also helps me to find an answer to the research question since theory-guided content analysis enables researcher to construct big picture of the vast unit of analysis. In this thesis, the research material is reduced into smaller units via coding in which Atlas.ti software is used. Anneli Sarajärvi and Jouni Tuomi have published compact guidebook for qualitative research and content analysis (*Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi* 2002) which serves as methodological guide for this thesis along with some volumes.

Content analysis involves systematic reading of written texts, images and symbols and can be both quantitative and qualitative. It corresponds well with analysis of unstructured material and attempts to formulate condensed overall understanding of the research material. Critics have argued that content analysis simply organizes the material and is not able to make any relevant assumptions and the analysis remains unfinished.²⁵

Theory-guided content analysis is largely material based but has some theoretical associations which serve as guidance during analysis. Theory assists the analysis, but analysis is not grounded on it. As in material-based content analysis the units of analysis are chosen from the material but conversely the foreknown information guides and aids the analysis. The point is not to test some theory as in theory-based

²⁴ Bertrand, I., & Hughes, P. (2005). *Media research methods : audiences, institutions, texts* . Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. 177-184.

²⁵ Tuomi, J. & Sarajärvi, A. (2002). *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi*. Helsinki: Tammi,105,110.

content analysis but to arouse new thoughts about the material and context related to it.²⁶ In this thesis, results of content analysis are analyzed from transnational point of view in order to find possible transnational allocations from the material. Reasoning of theory-guided content analysis is largely abductive reasoning which means that out of incomplete observations (the Japan Times material) it is possible to deduce best predictions by using common sense. Abductive reasoning can be used when researcher aims to discover something new as in this research.

Theory-based content analysis follows certain discipline. At first, one must decide why the material is interesting for this research and choose what to focus on. This thesis is interested of the Japan Times and how it portrays the Anpo-protests. Thus, only texts and pictures related to Anpo-protests are taken account. Secondly, material is read through and the issues, words, sentences et cetera that are related to your research question are filtered and documented.²⁷

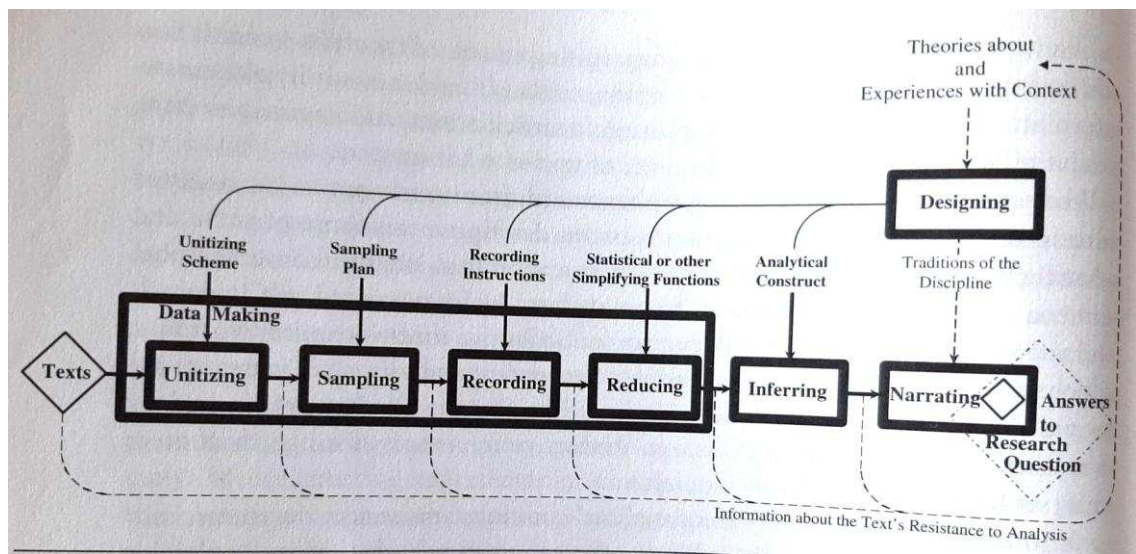
Analysis of the gathered material involves four phases. Firstly, reduction. This thesis uses coding as reducing method. Coding is like highlighting which separates important information from the black and white. Secondly, clustering which is also known as grouping. Similar codes are grouped together into one class which are named by the common concept. Thirdly, abstraction where all the relevant information is separated from the material and constructed into theoretical concepts. Abstraction literally means conceptualization, making of concepts, that are related into existing theories.²⁸ Finally, the research results are narrated on textual report (thesis) and analyzed with the research context (theory, literature). Below is illustrative model of content analysis. (figure1).

²⁶ Ibid., 98. See also Bertrand & Hughes (2005).

²⁷ Ibid., 94-95.

²⁸ Ibid., 111-115.

Figure 1: Components of content analysis.²⁹ Recording (coding), reducing (clustering, grouping), inferring (abstracting, categorizing) and designing (construction of themes). Finally, narrating answers to the research question (chapter four).



Major strength of the content analysis is that it is excellent for managing vast amounts of research material and does not really entail any ethical problems. However, it is very time consuming and some important notions might be missed during the analysis process. Also, the material can be easily overanalyzed. Overanalyzing of the material may be the most difficult part to handle since it is sometimes hard to acknowledge that the results may not tell anything relevant. Thus, it is important not to make too extensive conclusions. Thirdly, definition of specific categories is often difficult.³⁰ Nevertheless, theory-guided content analysis enables me to deal equally with the historical primary source and construct image of the Anpo-protests on the Japan Times. With the help of theory-guided content analysis, I will hopefully be able to unveil unified image of Anpo-protests that journalists constructed both unintentionally and intentionally. This image represents the 1960s Japanese society and culture in various ways.

1.6 Structure of this thesis

This thesis is divided into six different chapters. Chapter two explores the historical context and research framework more thoroughly. At first, Japanese postwar history is briefly introduced in the global context. Political history of Japanese government

²⁹ Krippendorff 2004, 86.

³⁰ Ibid.

and society are analyzed in order to understand the causes behind the Anpo-protests. After that the research literature is analyzed even more. Then, the evolvement of the protests from minor skirmishes into large-scale mass protests are explained. Lastly, theoretical framework of transnational history and historical study of images are introduced. Finally, history and political background of the Japan Times are analyzed so that the possible subjectivity and political connections become apparent. Most important methodological guidebooks are introduced, and theory-guided content analysis is briefly explained. Although it is not always necessary to use certain methodology in historical research, I felt that it would help me analyze the material more profoundly. In the last section the analyzed material is introduced.

Chapter three introduces qualitative results of the content analysis. On chapter four the results of the analysis are characterized into three different themes that emerged from the research material. The results are analyzed more deep-toughly in chapter five. All the questions that appeared before and after the analysis are answered. The major arguments and criticism are introduced. Finally, the epilogue reflects the whole research process and asks whether the research fulfilled its objectives and how this research could be continued.

2 Japanese civil society in transition

2.1 A decade of demonstrations - 1960s

History refers to the era between 1945-1991 as Cold War. It that was named after the multiple conflicts around the World caused by battle between communism and liberal capitalism – or in other words between Soviet Union and the U.S. The entire World was affected by Cold War events which were followed intensively by newspapers, television and radio. People knew what was happening around the World thanks to the new media platforms. Media had grown to be the most important source of information which changed the lives of the people forever. This gave rise to civil society as well.

The decade of the 1960s is often closely associated with the rise of civil society. Vietnam War protests, decolonialization and emerge of counter cultures all represent the power of civil society in their own way. In history books pictures of the 1960s often portray long-haired anti-war protestors with peace signs hanging around their necks or bloody French students protesting for their government actions. These nation-wide demonstrations took place during the last years of the 1960s. However, the research topic of this thesis, nation-wide Security-treaty protests in Japan, took place in the year 1960, years before Europeans and Americans marched on the streets.

Japan during the Cold War is an interesting case. Prior 1945 Japan was an enemy of the U.S. but after the defeat Japan became U.S. ally. The situation was very similar to that of Germany. These former “rogue states” had been overpowered and a crucial democratization, integration and modernization processes had started. Japan was not a Third World country but did not belong to First World either. However, the U.S. forgot to treat Japan like its equal ally and Japanese did not really digest it. Thus, some Japanese started to gather influence from Third World instead.³¹

Korean War in 1950-53 was an unfortunate example of how battle between two polar superpowers and ideologies affected on a Third World country. Occupation era officially ended in Japan during Korean war, but the U.S. military bases remained in the country soil. After Korean war many countries were on their toes; they did not

³¹ Painter, D. S. (1999). *The Cold War: An international history*. London; New York: Routledge, 31.

want to end up being a battlefield between Soviets and Americans nor being dragged to unwanted wars. Hence, many countries tried to remain neutral. Japan also tried to pursue for neutrality in the late 1950s, but the ruling politicians remained loyal to the U.S. which caused turmoil among some of the citizens.

In the late 1950s many Third World countries were dealing with civil unrest and upheavals. Cuba, that was suffering from poverty, went through socialist revolution in 1959. The Cuban revolution inspired many radicals around the World and triggered anti-American feelings amongst Third World countries. In the wake of Cuba, both South Korea³² (April 19th) and Turkey (May 27th) experienced military coup d'état on late spring of 1960. Both countries were close allies to the U.S and received both economic funds and military assistance from the U.S. However, people soon understood that the help of the U.S. was rather neocolonialistic than sincere help and the strong military groups gained power. Citizens supported the military coups and took part of massive protests both in Turkey and South Korea. Japanese were motivated by these two military coups, but the escalation of largest Japanese demonstrations in history was in the long run a sum of many variables.³³

Odd Arne Westad argues in his book *The Global Cold War* that Cold War was indeed global and that ideologically driven interventionist Third World policies of the U.S. and Soviet Union gave rise to uprisings and resistance in the Third World. These uprisings had impact on the rest of the World as well. The term global means processes that took place around the World roughly at the same time during the Cold War.³⁴ This global perspective on Japanese political history defines this thesis. This means that more emphasis is paid to the Cold War situation globally or in other words, transnationally. However, the term “Third World” is not used while referring to Japan since Japan was never a colony of the U.S. and had some level of economic independence in the year 1960.

³² In South Korea, citizens (especially students) were protesting for reunification (of North and South Korea) and for more democratic government. South Korea was a midst of modernization and rapid economic changes which caused confusion amongst citizens. April 19 revolution led to President Syngman Rhee's resignation. See more: Hong, S. (2002). Reunification Issues and Civil Society in South Korea: The Debates and Social Movement for Reunification during the April Revolution Period, 1960–1961. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 61(4), pp. 1237-1257. doi:10.2307/3096441.

³³ Westad, O. A. (2005). *The global cold war: Third world interventions and the making of our times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 170; Howard, D. A. (2001). *The history of Turkey*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 134.

³⁴ Westad 2005.

2.2 The evolvement of Anpo-protests

Land of the rising sun faced major changes in its society, security and politics after World War II. The empire had collapsed, and the country had to face its defeat. Former enemy, the United States had occupied Japan and demilitarized the country.³⁵ In a way, Japan's faith was in the hands of the U.S.

After the World War II the U.S. started demilitarization and democratization process. The democratic model was American liberal democracy that was widely associated with the concept of peace. However, this concept of peace meant that Japanese society had to go through major transformations. For instance, the limitations in freedom of speech were abolished³⁶. The legal and education systems were transformed to more democratic and the structure of economy was reformed. The most important change was the constitutional reform that changed Japanese people, society and culture indefinitely.³⁷

The constitutional reform is known for article number nine³⁸ which states that Japan does not have right to wage war nor to have military forces. Thus, the constitution is often referred as "peace constitution"³⁹. The concept of peace (平和) was finally fulfilled when Japan and the Allied Powers signed peace treaty in 1951 (known as Treaty of San Francisco). At the same time Japan surpassed its prewar economic level due the war on Korean peninsula that boosted Japanese economy. The occupation forces departed from Japan after 1952. Although Japanese sovereignty was finally returned Japan faced major difficulties in the area of politics over the following years.

During the occupation Japanese politics were mostly about diplomacy towards the United States. Many pre-war politicians were sentenced to jail after the World War II but surprisingly released during the Korean war (1950-53). These politicians established critical and conservative Japan democratic party against the Liberal Party,

³⁵ Ibid, 147.

³⁶ However, anti-supreme commander for the Allied powers (GHQ) and anti-American speech was still strictly controlled. (Ibid, 147).

³⁷ Kitaoka 2018, 148-49.

³⁸ Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

³⁹ The constitution of 1947 is still on effect and majority of the Japanese people (69%) are opposing the revision to Article 9. The Japan Times. 22.6.2020. "69% oppose change to Japanese Constitution's war-renouncing Article 9, poll shows". Access 21.12.2020.

which was led by Yoshida Shigeru, the prime minister. Together with Japan Socialist party the ex-war criminal, Hatoyama Ichiro (the leader of Democratic party) brought end to Yoshida administration and became the leader of the country. The Hatoyama cabinet was openly critical towards the U.S. and called for constitutional revision and the end of dependence on the U.S.⁴⁰

Kitaoka (2018) explains that co-operation between democrats and socialists did not last very long. Japanese Socialist party did not want to continue liaison with democrats and thus democrats had to unite forces with other party, the liberals. In 1955, the Liberal Democratic Party was born. The LDP won the elections in 1955 and started the era of two-party system (LDP and Japan Socialist Party JSP) or so called “1955” system in Japanese politics. The first two prime ministers of 1955-system were Hatoyama and his successor Ishibashi Tanzan, a former war-criminal as well. Tanzan had to resign shortly after his election due serious illness and Kishi Nobusuke took over in 1957. Kishi hoped for “New Era in Japan-U.S. Relations” which had become worse under Hatoyama and Tanzan cabinets. The one major issue that Kishi wished to reform was the Japan-U.S. Security treaty (signed in 1951).⁴¹

The U.S. was also eager to revise the Security treaty for various reasons. The U.S. was worried that Japan was getting too close with Soviet Union and China and thus slipping away from the U.S. influence. However, the U.S. was also troubled by the idea of neutrality among Japanese politicians and how Japan might slither towards neutralism if the Security treaty was not revised. Thus, it was more convenient to revise the Security treaty and give more space and freedom to Japan than lose Japan completely.⁴² This was a common technique for both the U.S. and U.S.S.R during Cold war among their alliances.

The U.S. ambassador of Japan Douglas MacArthur II suggested that after the revision of the Security treaty the U.S. army would still have right to use Okinawa as military base. Also, Japan would still be compelled to help the U.S. during the war and vice versa. This would make Japan and the United states as equal allies during the peace and war. However, the idea of more mutual friendship treaty did not please some Japanese people and a large opposition movement surfaced among the

⁴⁰ Ibid, 157-158.

⁴¹ Ibid, 157-158.

⁴² Kitaoka 2018, 159.

citizens.⁴³ These Security treaty protests are referred as “ANPO” (Nichibei Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku, 日米安全保障条約, the Security treaty termed in Japanese)⁴⁴.

The Anpo-protests attracted millions of people to the streets of Japanese cities and are known to be largest and longest protests of modern Japanese history. It has been estimated that 30 million Japanese took part of the protests which was approximately one third of the population. Anpo-protests attracted citizens from various backgrounds. Marxist students, university intellectuals, trade unionists, artists, peace activists, teachers and so on were united on opposition of prime minister Kishi and revision of Security treaty.⁴⁵ Basically all of them opposed the same issue (Security treaty) but many of them had various other motives for rising up for barricades.

The protests attracted many, but many were also embarrassed by the behavior of the fellow Japanese. Some Japanese even wrote letters to American politicians and businessmen to apologize the crude behavior of their countrymen and women. Many feared that the protest would be regarded as anti-American which was not favorable in terms of economy or diplomatic relations.⁴⁶ Thus, Japanese had very conflicting image of the protests. This complex image becomes visible on this thesis as well.

The timeline of the protests can be divided into three phases. According to Kapur (2018) the earliest phase from spring to fall in 1959 was mostly confined by hard-core leftists and gained hardly any attention from media. The second phase began in the fall of 1959 when the text of the revised treaty was introduced on October 6. This attracted persons of culture to join the movement on November and eventually was joined by radical student activists later that month. Radical students gained attention on January 16th 1960 when they tried to prevent Kishi from traveling to the U.S to sign the treaty. The final phase started in the spring of 1960 when the Japanese leftists were completely mobilized. The overthrow of dictatorial leaders in Turkey and South Korea proved that disfavored governments could be prostrated by peaceful mass movements that gave hope to Japanese demonstrators.⁴⁷

⁴³ Schaller 2010, 159.

⁴⁴ Kapur 2018, 1.

⁴⁵ Kapur, 2017. 489; Schaller 2010, 160.

⁴⁶ Kapur 2017, 495.

⁴⁷ Kapur 2018, 20-21.

In the Diet⁴⁸ the Socialist had also begun to underestimate the treaty along with the media. Kishi understood the seriousness of the situation and resorted to extreme measures. On May 19th, the Diet Speaker Kiyose (by Kishi's command) summoned 500 policemen to Diet building and preventing the Socialist politicians on voting against the security treaty. Since the opposition members were not present during the vote the Security treaty was approved. The treaty was to be automatically ratified on June 19, the day that President Eisenhower was scheduled to arrive to country. This event, also known as May 19th incident, changed the anti-treaty movement on more anti-Kishi and even anti-American. After the incident ordinary citizens such as housewives, white-collar workers and even school children joined the demonstrations.⁴⁹ May 19th serves as first major turn point in the process of the Anpo-protests.

After May 19th the nature of protests changed indefinitely. On June 10th around 6 000 protestors tried to block arrival of Eisenhower's secretary James Hagerty and MacArthur II to Japan. Protestors surrounded the car that was carrying Hagerty and MacArthur II and crashed its windows, smashed its lights and so on. The helicopter had to save Hagerty and MacArthur II amidst the angry crowd. This so called Hagerty Incident turned the demonstrations into more violent by nature and affected on how media reacted on Anpo-protests. After the incident, mainstream press started to turn their back on demonstrators.⁵⁰ The Hagerty incident serves as the second major event in understanding the evolvement of the protests.

The third breaking point occurred on June 15th when hundreds of thousands of protestors marched on the Diet building. The leftist student organization (Zengakuren) invaded the Diet building for couple of hours until the police drove students back to the gates of the Diet. During this clash, one Tokyo university female student was trampled to death and many other students beaten up unconscious by the police. Also, artists that were protesting outside the building were attacked by right-wing protestors. In total, eighty people suffered injuries, and some were hospitalized for weeks.⁵¹ These events changed the nature of the protests significantly because Japanese were shocked of how the protests had escalated into deadly violence.

⁴⁸ The Diet refers to national Diet (parliament) of Japan.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 21-26.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 30-31. See also Ando 2010.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Photos of the Japan Times describe these feelings accurately (see appendix number three).

After these violent protests, Kishi understood that Eisenhower's visit would not be safe, and it had to be canceled. The protests continued for a while after June 15th deathly incident but many citizens – except radical students – felt that protest had gone too far, and it was time to stop. The mainstream media judged the violent protests and issued joint statement titled “Wipe Out Violence, Preserve Parliamentary Democracy”. Soon afterwards the big business organizations announced similar statement. Eventually, Kishi understood that he could not escape the situation any longer and therefore decided to resign on July 15th.⁵² The protests ceased but the Japanese society, culture and politics had changed forever. However, since the protests were not able to block the ratification of the Security Treaty they are often portrayed as failure which gives the protest somewhat negative image.

2.3 Reasons and outcomes of the protests

The causes behind Anpo-protests have been analyzed by many scholars. George R. Packard summaries in his volume (1966) that there were three major themes and explanations for the Anpo-protests; The nationalist theme, the alliance and democracy. Nationalism relates to Japanese pride of their economic achievements, reaction to foreign influences (especially American) and ambition of power. The alliance identifies with Japan's foreign policies, Cold war situation and ambiguous feelings towards the U.S. (anti-Americanism). Finally, mass media, white collar-workers, urban middle class, intellectuals and radical students were united to protect democracy that was under threat in the hands of unparliamentary government.⁵³

These three themes recur on many Anpo-related research. According to Kitaoka Shinichi, the opposition movement emerged due personal hatred towards former war criminal Kishi and his politics being a threat to democracy. However, Kitaoka notes that there was also a nationalist sentiment among the opposition.⁵⁴ Another scholar, Nick Kapur identifies three reasons that allowed the protests to grow so large and

⁵² Ibid, 32-34.

⁵³ Packard 1966, 332-350.

⁵⁴ Kitaoka 2018, 159. See also Tsurumi, K. (2015). *Social Change and the Individual : Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* . Princeton University Press, 336.

nation-wide. Firstly, the political context. People were not pleased with Japanese politics. Secondly, the confusion that people felt about their industrialized society and urbanized culture. Japan had transformed in fast pace from agrarian society to highly industrial economy and people did not really know their place in this society. Thirdly, the development of visual media, most importantly rise of photography and television.⁵⁵ People were able to share the experience of protesting nationally and perhaps even transnationally.

Scholar Mari Yamamoto offers more detailed view. According to her research, workers who first joined Anpo-protests (mostly left-wing) were fed up with the injustices that power of Japan's monopoly capital, capitalistic government and U.S. imperialism caused. The governmental system was the main cause of suffering and had to be changed. Later even conservative workers joined the triumph of protests. However, according to survey of workers union members the main reasons for protesting were fear and hatred of war. Secondly came undemocratic nature of Kishi's government and thirdly the interdependence of Japan from the U.S.⁵⁶ This implies that Anpo-protests were greatly fueled by pacifism, maybe even more than thought before.

For the ANPO-protestors "peace" did not necessarily mean absence of violence or war but more like non-alignment and neutrality⁵⁷. The people around the World were protesting for the U.S. military occupation or in more severe words, U.S. neo-imperialism. Japanese were the one of the first nationalities to oppose these issues followed by the Americans themselves during the 1960s. Although this thesis does not seek to research Japanese peace movement is it important to bear in mind the context where people were living. Decolonialization had started in the 1950s in South-East Asia and Africa reaching its peak in 1960-1965. During the 1960s peace movements changed the societies and cultures in many parts of the World. Japanese nuclear opposition combined with fear of war and pacifism was immense and did

⁵⁵ Kapur 2018, 2-3.

⁵⁶ Yamamoto 2004, 92,96,101, 110.

⁵⁷ Anpo-protest can be regarded as part of the Japanese peace movement. Japanese peace movement opposed nuclear weapons, American bases and all kinds of remilitarization and grew steadily during the 1950s. In 1959 LPD understood the treat of the movement for the revision of security treaty and for the Japan-US relations. Totten, G. O. & Kawakami, T. (1964). Gensuikyō and the Peace Movement in Japan. *Asian Survey*, 4(5), pp. 833-841. doi:10.2307/3023477

have its influence on the Anpo-protests as well. It is interesting to find out how the Japan Times discusses of these issues.

Although Anpo-movement was nation-wide the importance of student movement cannot be underestimated. Japanese student movement was born out of three traumatic experiences; defeat in the Second World War, feeling of being deceived by older generation and disappointment with the actions of JCP⁵⁸. The student movement is often referred as Zengakuren (established in 1948) which was originally a university student organization that coordinated students in Japan in order to improve students' conditions. Zengakuren also cooperated with democratic forces inside and outside of Japan by promoting peace, interdependence of Japan, democracy, academic freedom and cultural creativity. Zengakuren was also supporting Japanese communist party (JCP). Zengakuren has divided to many different groups after Anpo-protests that emphasize different kinds of Marxism.⁵⁹ However, Zengakuren was one of the major forces behind nation-wide protests and by in-depth analysis of Zengakuren it is possible to understand causes for protesting among university students. Zengakuren also reflects the generational gap between silent generation (pre-WWII) and baby-boomers that was mirrored to all areas of the society and culture.

But as noted before, the students were not the only ones who joined the protests. Takemasa Ando argues that there were three types of Japanese New Left movements; student movements (Zengakuren), young worker's movements and anti-war movements. Worker's protested increasing control over workers offices and discipline of work whereas anti-war movement, which was not yet popular as later in the 1960s, criticized U.S.-Japan alliance. Along with Zengakuren, worker's movements and anti-war movements conjoined the Anpo-protests although they were not as visible as radical students.⁶⁰ Hence, there are certainly many different causes for Anpo-protests that were framed as national campaign against one specific political issue – the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

⁵⁸ Tsurumi 2015, 309.

⁵⁹ Apter, D. E. & Sawa, N. (1984). *Against the state: Politics and social protest in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 119-120.

⁶⁰ Ando 2010, 18-20.

Anpo-protests occurred only 15 years after the end of World War II. The memories of the war must have been vivid amongst many Japanese. Decline of the empire and the humiliating occupation era were not yet forgotten nor really dealt with. However, the protestors were mostly young students, workers, intellectuals and above all, urban citizens. Ando (2010) notes that Anpo-protests did not spread to rural areas despite thousands of students and scholars were trying to “enlighten” rural people about democratic values. Eventually, the protests died out after September 1960.⁶¹

Japanese people came to accept the idea of being America’s “little brother”. Economy started to boom again when Japan returned to submission of America’s foreign diplomacy. Students failed to mobilize demonstrations for five years partly because of conflicts and splits in the movements but also because of the gloomy atmosphere that suffocated the movements. Japanese citizens silently accepted Anpo-treaty, U.S. military bases and heavy working days. But there were also concrete reasons for the silence of mass movements after Anpo.⁶²

Anpo-protests were culmination of self-expression and freedom of speech in Japanese society after World War II. People had embraced the idea of democracy to a degree where one third of the country was opposing against undemocratic leader. Despite the “failure” of the protest some protestors pointed out that Anpo-protests promoted democratic understanding and consciousness of the rules of democracy⁶³. Japanese people who are often portrayed as restful and discreet openly criticized the state and Japanese traditions which did not please right-wing politicians and conservatives. Some major actions were taken immediately after the end of protests.

Kapur notes (2018) that the court ruled that freedom of speech amongst of group assembly is not the same as the freedom of speech of individual or press which meant that it was illegal to express opinions by means of group assembly. The police changed its training and tactics further away from police brutality and banned protest tactics such as “snake dance”. Protesting near the Diet building became permanently banned. Police organized spying operations and most importantly, the amount of police officers grew from 124 000 to 200 000 in 15 years (1960-1975). On the level of civil activism, right-wing ultranationalists were energized to fight back against

⁶¹ Ibid. 2010, 90-91.

⁶² Ibid. 100-101.

⁶³ Tsurumi 2015, 339.

hypothetical communist revolution, which gave rise to new forms of yakuza as well.⁶⁴

Japanese mass media evolved due Anpo-protests into “less free” in the eyes of many. Many left-leaning reporters took apart of the protests and supported demonstrations until the violent events of June 1960 when major newspapers released their joint declaration to end the violence and protests. After the protest calmed down, business leaders and conservative politicians understood the power of new medium, television as well as the danger of left-wing newspapers. In July 1960 leaders of the business world established “mass media countermeasures committee” in order to explore ways to reduce the influence of what they viewed as the left-leaning media and started to fund conservative television shows. Newspapers became more careful with their editorial stances which increased censorship by its own.⁶⁵

However, Ellis Krauss argues that media had a role of a “trickster” during the Anpo-protests meaning that media has role between chaos and order, serving both as a critic and worker of the state⁶⁶. In other words, the media was both siding and opposing the state, as the fourth estate is often doing in democratic countries. Therefore, it should not be thought that the media was completely silenced after the Anpo-protests since the journalists always find their way of expression despite the censorship.

In the long run, demonstrators of Anpo-protests had multiple different motives in their backgrounds. The protests had significant impact on Japanese society, but it is reasonable to argue that these outcomes were not exactly what the protestors really wanted. Above all protestors opposed revision of the U.S.-Japan Security treaty and growing influence of the U.S. presence in Japan. But in order to find out how the Japan Times portrays the Anpo-protests, research material and methods are introduced next.

⁶⁴ Kapur 2018, 218-225; 248.

⁶⁵ Kapur 2018, 226-245.

⁶⁶ Krauss, E.S. (1996). The Mass Media and Japanese politics. In Pharr, S.J & Krauss, E.S. Media and Politics in Japan. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 363-365.

2.4 Background of the Japan Times

The Japan Times was established in 1897 by Motosada Zumoto who had studied in the U.S. and served as private secretary to Japan's first prime minister Ito Hirobumi. It was the first Japanese-owned English-language newspaper in Japan. Zumoto saw that in Europe and the U.S. people did not have any information of Japan available in English although many people were eager to know more about Japanese culture and society. Therefore, the main mission of the paper was to promote mutual understanding and information between foreigners and Japanese people.⁶⁷ Still today, this bridge of understanding serves its purpose.

The Japan Times also provides world news to its readers since majority of the Japanese newspapers are focused on domestic news. Before the war the Japan Times served as a default source for news of East-Asia to the foreign press and was often defined as "semi-official journalism" or "organ of the Japanese Foreign ministry"⁶⁸. Under the wartime government the Japan Times changed its name to Nippon Times but returned to original title in 1956 when Shintaro Fukushima became the head of the magazine. On the post-war era The Japan Times started to compete with foreign English language newspapers and media and on 1957 it started to send daily international airmail editions (DIAE) to newspaper's overseas subscribers. It was first mailed to 108 different countries⁶⁹. For this transnational innovation the Japan Times given a special award by Japan Newspapers Editors and Publishers association.⁷⁰

On the 65th anniversary edition of the Japan Times the president and publisher Shinataro Fukushima comments that the aim of the Japan Times is to offer free, unbiased and constructive news to its domestic and international readers. The article, that is published in 1962 notes that on that time the Japan Times had largest circulation among English-language newspapers in Japan. Along with the Japan Times, the Japan Times International airmail edition, international weekly, domestic

⁶⁷ Ogawa, Masaru. (1977). Times will continue to speak out boldly, courageously on relevant issues of the day. *The Japan Times*, 22.03.1977. B2; O'Connor, P. (2010). *The English-language press networks of East Asia, 1918-1945*. Folkestone: Global Oriental. 305.

⁶⁸ O'Connor, P. 2010, 305; Ogawa, M. 1997, B2.

⁶⁹ Hasegawa, Shinichi, (1977). Japan Times is playing vital role in promoting understanding among nations – the "Int'l Times". *The Japan Times*, 21.3.1977, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Tanaka, Sachiko Oda, (1995). "The Japanese Media and English." *World Englishes* 14, no 1. 38, 42.

weekly and student weekly was also published.⁷¹ Without doubt, the Japan Times was considerably major medium during that time.

Who were reading the news during the Anpo-protests? The target audience of the newspaper has shifted from foreigners and Japanese academics to expats and Japanese college students for 120 years. In 1952 the number of American soldiers in Japanese soil was around 260 000 but decreased to 100 000 in the 1960s⁷². It is obvious that the target audience in 1959-1960 was mainly foreigners but some interesting notes must be taken to account. Fabienne Darling-Wolf argues that the Japan Times editors and photographers focused on getting the foreign audience familiar with Japanese culture and society especially during the post-war years⁷³ The magazine tried to assert Japan as part of the World community.

However, Tanaka points out that according to the Japan Times survey conducted in 1965-66, 46 percent of its readers were Japanese and the rest foreigners. Eventually in 1990 the ratio was already 60 percent and 40 percent. Tanaka argues that reasons for this are decline of the U.S. military personnel in Japan during the 1960s, rise in the costs of living which has reduced the newspaper subscriptions and finally increase in number of non-English speaking foreigners.⁷⁴ One can assume that the knowledge of English skill among Japanese has increased adequately and has had its own consequences on this issue. So, one can roughly assume that in 1960, around 40 percent of the readers were Japanese and 60 percent foreigners.

According to these sources the Japan Times was most likely targeted to U.S. military personnel and other foreigners living or visiting Japan. It is interesting to note that the newspaper also took account that foreign journalists might be reading it as well. Thus, the audience of the Japan Times were clearly foreigners in Japan and abroad. Nevertheless, one must not assume that only foreigners read the paper. Many scholars, students and people who had some knowledge of English read it as well maybe because they were interested of world news or how Japan was portrayed. As Darling-Wolf argues, Japanese were very cautious of their public image in the post-

⁷¹ Fukushima, Shintaro (1962). President's message. The Japan Times, 22.3.1962, front page.

⁷² Kane, Tim. (2004). Global U.S. Troop Deployment, 1950-2003. The Heritage Foundation. Defense report, 27.10.2004. See also Tanaka 1995, 38.

⁷³ Darling-Wolf, F. (2004). Post-war Japan in photographs: Erasing the past and building the future in the Japan Times. Journalism, 5(4), pp. 406, 417.

⁷⁴ Tanaka 1995, 38.

war years and wanted to be acknowledged as proud and modern country that was able to create its own destiny. The Olympic games in 1964 were the epitome of this.⁷⁵ Was the Japan Times independent newspaper or was it in governments control? It is certainly hard to answer to such questions but scholars that have researched the Japan Times contend that the newspaper can be considered as semi-official meaning that the Foreign ministry network had some influence on the paper.

O'Connor (2010) notes that the problem with the Japan Times' credibility in post-war Japan was that it never admitted its official connection nor completely denied it either⁷⁶. Masaru Ogawa, editor of the Japan Times agrees that during World War II Foreign ministry did own a large portion of the Japan Times stocks but after the war occupational forces ordered the government to sever ties with mass media. The Foreign ministry sold stocks back to the Japan Times who distributed stocks to its employees.⁷⁷ On the 1960s, the Japan Times was mainly owned by its employees.

Interestingly, Ogawa also notes that the Japan Times has firmly promoted global peace and understanding that has been the main ideology since the magazine was found. He claims that at the time of Anpo-protests, the Japan Times was "a lone voice" in Japan backing the maintenance of the Security treaty in its revised form.⁷⁸ This implies that the Japan Times supported revision of the treaty in the name of international peace, not in the name of domestic rest.

Furthermore, the former presidency of the Japan Times Ogazawara Toshiaki has claimed that the Japan Times supported the Anpo Security treaty revision in the 1960s despite many of its readers demonstrating against it. The Japan Times was willing to obey official requirements of Foreign ministry and was aware of the troubled Cold war situation.⁷⁹ Thus, the Japan Times had some government allocations and was not completely independent. Still, the Japan Times was not associated with any specific political party or ideology which makes it reasonable neutral in the Cold war context. During the analysis I seek to keep in mind the

⁷⁵ Darling-Wolf 2004, 419.

⁷⁶ O'Connor 2010, 295.

⁷⁷ Ogawa 1997, B2.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ O'Connor 2010, 294-95.

context and official Japanese government policy in order to find possible hidden connotations from the news related to Anpo-protests.

One specific issue that has become clear is that the Japan Times was above all, international. This becomes highly evident on the Japan Times commentary where Dr. Shinichi Hasegawa suggest that the Japan Times should be appointed as the International Times in Japan. He points out main differences between the Japan Times and Japanese-language newspapers. The Japan Times accounts news from international point of view, remains neutral in their editorial views and is edited with both international and domestic audience in mind. Furthermore, it is inclined to view domestic issues from national point of view which is why many people regard the Japan Times as government controlled which is not accurate. Unlike domestic newspapers the Japan Times does not make anti-governmental appeals. Hence, it does not favor any political party. Overall, its' news is concentrated more on international issues, not on intriguing domestic murder cases for example.⁸⁰ Dr. Hasegawa's commentary was published in the Japan Times which makes relatively subjective.

Above all, it seems that the Japan Times was very international-oriented newspaper back in the 1960s. Indeed, it was one of the only newspapers that provided its readers with international news. The Japan Times did not criticize the government because its editors offered insight to domestic issues from international point of view which often matched with the government policy. As noted, Japanese government (and public) were very cautious of their external image during the economic boom, starting from the mid-1950s. The government wanted to look good in the eyes of Western countries and protests like Anpo did not offer such a positive image. The Japan Times also must have been in a crossfire between its foreign and domestic readers who were divided in their opinions about Security treaty revision and later Anpo-protests.

From my point of view, the Japan Times embraced the international audience and idea of international peace over supporting young radical students and other protestors, who did not understand what would have been good for them. The Japan

⁸⁰ Hasegawa, S. p. 6.

Times promoted international peace whereas the Anpo-protestors revolted against international “peace” that in fact was complying with the global superpower, the U.S. Next chapter examines issues related to Anpo-protests that the Japan Times is writing about.

3 Protestors, motives and their techniques

The examination of the material took approximately two months. Between October 1959 and October 1960 3,796 pages of The Japan Times were published which is a large amount. I started the analysis by scrolling through the material page by page but shortly realized that only pages one to three (domestic and international news, see appendix 1) and the last page (opinions, letter to the editors ex cetera, see appendix 2) were relevant for my research. Usually the newspaper contained one to eight pages but sometimes twelve to even more. These “extra” pages focused on cultural issues or some current events, and the pages four to seven often contained similar issues such as culture, sports and economics. At first, I read all the pages but after realizing only some pages were relevant for this research, I started to focus only on pages one, two, three and eight/twelve (the last page).

The research question naturally guided the focus of material analysis. I focused on the news that covered issues related to Anpo-protests such as demonstrations, Zengakuren and workers strikes. After some time, certain news and themes started to appear to be more relevant than others. At this point I had to think whether some of the news were relevant for the research. These included news of domestic labor strikes that were not directly related to Anpo-protests even though on a certain level they were. Thus, this kind of news were included to the analysis. Instead, general news about the U.S.-Japan alliance that did not really deal with Anpo-protests were not included on the analysis.

While going through the material all the news was not read completely but instead attention was paid on specific words, themes, issues and such. For example, on January 11th 1960 frontpage attention was paid on words and phrases such as students prevent, ultra-leftist students, unlawful tactics, bomb rumored, antirevision rally, stage a sit-down, and Security authorities⁸¹. Some of the news were very short whereas some letters to the editor were very long. Most of the news did not have an author but some had. This kind of news were often more opinionated and not so formal. For example:

⁸¹ The Japan Times 11.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 2.11.2020.

My conclusion is that each individual Japanese must improve and adapt himself to the ways of democracy before Japan can be admitted into the international community.⁸²

The news that were written by some other newspaper or editorial staff were ignored. Also, news written by foreigners were scanned briefly but not included in analysis because the focus is on Japanese, not American journalists.

Close reading was carried out with coding. As for coding tool Atlas.ti was used. Atlas.ti is one of the most common coding software and familiar to me from my previous studies. The reason why I chose to use Atlas.ti was because I found it easier to arrange and understand the material by using coding software. Eventually, Atlas.ti helped me to get comprehensive image of the material and eventually reduce the material into specific themes.

On coding process all the words and sentences that were related to the Anpo-protests were coded. Some specific words such as righteous minded students were coded and sometimes longer sentences such as “the professors and students have neither time or money for thorough teaching and studying”⁸³. At first it was rather difficult to decide what to code which is why in the beginning relatively large amount of the text was coded. After completing the first round of coding there were over 1200 codes. Then I started to combine of these singular codes into similar groups, such as students, women and protests techniques. After grouping phase there were over 200 different code groups.

Quantitatively most frequent code groups were communism (65 codes), techniques (58 codes) and students (54 codes). Group students would have been the biggest if code group Zengakuren (41 codes) would have been included under code group students. However, it was observed that the newspaper assigned Zengakuren and students in a different manner as if they were different groups which is partly true. Zengakuren students diverged from casual students because of its political associations, mainly to the communist party JCP. Although students worked together to stop ratification of

⁸² Hasegawa, Saiji. New Age and Democracy. The Japan Times 19.7.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 8.12.2020.

⁸³ Tsuneto, Kyo. The Japan Times. 25.01.1960. On Student demonstrations. Guest column. The Japan Times archives. Access 9.9.2020.

the Security treaty, Zengakuren students had more politically inspired motives behind them i.e. they were politically active even before Anpo-protests.⁸⁴

After grouping similar codes into different groups, it was time for inferring. This phase turned out to be difficult because some groups were so similar. Also, it was hard to form any kind of upper category for some code groups. For example, group symbol could have fitted into category protests technique but instead it was put under category culture because category demonstration included more accurate techniques than symbolism. Likewise, category law includes groups police force, constitution, legality and illegality although police force could have been added under category demonstration as well. During this phase it was important to look overall picture and not to stick on to details too much. While looking the code groups and codes in them it was necessary to look for overall category instead of specific words. Finally, 16 different categories were discovered.

But what do these categories include? What are the issues that the Japan Times is writing about? The 16 categories include very general issues of the societies; culture, demonstration, history, geographical density, ideology, Japanese people, law, media, motive, politics, social order, students, the U.S, transnational, violence and influence. Some categories are very overlapping and may seem confusing. However, category law and social order constitute of different issues. Social order includes groups that are more connected to society, such as chaos. Law, as mentioned, includes more institutional groups such as police force. Instead, category demonstration includes groups that are connected to demonstrations, like Security treaty.

Above all the Japan Times seems to be interested of three different things; who are protesting, why they are protesting and how they are protesting. For example:

Around 10 a.m. yesterday the representatives of the local anti-pact groups (who protest) flooded the reception desks of the House of representatives with petitions signed (how protest) by some two million rural residents (who protest) opposing the treaty ratification (why protest) Around noon they started parading in repeated waves (how protest) in the vicinity of the Diet building.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Ando 2010, 61-62.

⁸⁵ The Japan Times. 22.5.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 21.12.2020.

These issues appear often on the pages of the Japan Times. Other issues, such as U.S.-Japan relations, media behavior and possible influence on Japanese society appear less frequently, although they serve interesting information about the protests as well.

Naturally, people who took part of the protests are briefly introduced. Normally they are either workers or students, at times professors, actors, Christians or Buddhists, writers or even farmers. The social diversity of the protestors is an interesting detail which makes one wonder why the Japan Times writes about social backgrounds of the protestors. This question will be further evolved in the next chapter. However, one can quickly notice that workers and students appear most frequently as protestors and thus the protests are usually characterized by these two groups.

As Kapur notes, the media portrayal of the Anpo-protests changes between 1959-1960. In the Japan Times this is also visible. Especially the attitude towards the protestors transforms between 1959-1960. For example, on November 1959 the Japan Times writes:

We cannot help wondering why so much fuss has been made by the leftists and other malcontents in this country over the proposed revision of the Security Pact...⁸⁶

Disgraceful demonstrators – The Friday incident around the Diet building, perpetrated by Sohyo and Socialist leaders and their so called “democratic” friends, was a forceful but lamentable demonstration that democracy has a long way to go before it takes roots in this country.⁸⁷

The Japan Times portrays the demonstrations as “disgraceful” and “undemocratic” and blames socialists and labour unions for their misbehavior. The tone changes on slowly on 1960 when students and other groups join the movement. Labour unions and socialists are portrayed in more moderate tone than before whereas student demonstrators, especially Zengakuren becomes a hot topic. It seems that the Japan Times makes student organization as some sort of a scapegoat.

⁸⁶ The Japan Times. 12.11.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁸⁷ The Japan Times. 29.11.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

The only fear (of the demonstration) is perhaps that members of the leftist-student organization Zengakuren may get out of hand.⁸⁸

The Japan Communist Party condemned students for “Trotskyist conduct” harmful to the unity of the democratic forces in Japan.⁸⁹

Kishi gives pledge; Do soul-searching, Zengakuren urged.⁹⁰

Eventually, the Japan Times writes “appeal to Zengakuren”⁹¹ and finally “warning to Zengakuren”⁹² asking Zengakuren to stop the violent protests. It is interesting how Zengakuren becomes the major topic of the Japan Times although other people were also protesting on the streets. Perhaps youthful communists posed a serious threat to stability because they were young, relentless and uncontrollable.

The reasons for protests seem to be more uniform. The Japan Times rarely mentions any other reasons than opposition of the Security Treaty or personal hatred towards Kishi. Nevertheless, one can notice that communism is indirectly referred as one of the main reasons. For example, the Japan Times writes that socialist wished to restore diplomatic ties with Communist China along with antitreaty protests⁹³. Furthermore, the Japan Times thought that the protestors were trying to make Japan a communist country. The following quote describes well how the Japan Times saw the protests in late 1959:

Since the end of World War II this country has cooperated with the free nations in many important ways, and she has had her reward in a recovery of her international status, so that today she is a fitting partner with Western nations in working for general good. For Japan to reverse her attitude now and seek to align herself with the communist bloc strikes us a foolish suggestion, indeed, that we can only believe it is made by those who are more interested in bolstering Communist power than in discovering what is best for this country.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ The Japan Times. 10.12.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁸⁹ The Japan Times. 17.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁹⁰ The Japan Times. 10.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁹¹ The Japan Times. 13.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁹² The Japan Times. 17.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.12.2020.

⁹³ The Japan Times 6.12.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020. See also 11.6.1960 page 8.

⁹⁴ The Japan Times 12.11.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

However, although some protestors had leftist inclined motives many students for example protested police brutality⁹⁵ which is linked to idea of nonviolence, peace and democracy. Because Japan was between East and West the concept of peace had taken ideas from both sides. During the Cold war peace had negative connotation because Soviet Union described itself as the protector of peace whereas the U.S. was a protector of freedom. Peace and freedom were regarded as opposites, not united as people later in the 1960s comprehended.⁹⁶

One of the most interesting observation was that how detailed information the Japan Times offers of the protest techniques. The techniques vary from massive protest rallies to written statements, roadblocks to street corner meetings.⁹⁷ Techniques are mentioned almost every time. However, as the protests begin to intensify the news start to describe whether the protests techniques included violence or not. Thus, violence becomes very crucial element of the Anpo-news. It seems to be most important to know whether the protests techniques involved violence and whether it was legitimate. The number of possible injuries is described in closely. For example:

About 1:30 p.m. some 1000 demonstrators from Nagano and Ehime prefectures snake-danced in front of the Prime Minister's official residence and about ten of them burst into its compound to be pushed back by the policemen posted inside. During the scuffle one demonstrator was injured and four others were arrested.⁹⁸

The next chapter digs more deeply in this issue of violence and legitimacy. But as the previous quote points out the news are written in much detail. How many demonstrators, when, from where, where happened, what happened, what was the outcome. These specific details suggest that the Japan Times (and its readers) were very interested of what was happening in their country. Possibly the details also served as a warning for those who were thinking of joining the protests. Sometimes historical events were referred as a warning.

Now is the time for all of us to make clear that we want no backtracking to totalitarianism, whether it be of the left or the right.

⁹⁵ Protests rally against "undue police suppression". The Japan Times 27.06.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020. See also The Japan Times 17.6.1960 page 2.

⁹⁶ Cortright, D., Salomaa, E., & Suomela, K. (2011). *Rauha : ajatusten ja liikkeiden historia* . Gaudeamus. 137.

⁹⁷ The Japan Times 21.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

⁹⁸ The Japan Times 22.5.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

And the nation today is faced with the choice between dictatorial regime or the present democratic form of government. The nation made wrong choice in the 1930s; it must not do so again.⁹⁹

Historical events of Japan are occasionally referred. The protests are described as largest unified protests in history of Japan¹⁰⁰ which implies that the newspaper understood the historical significance of the protests. Interestingly, Japanese society is regarded as free and democratic in most of the news. It seems almost impossible for the newspaper to understand that Kishi's actions were not very democratic. However, this is understandable since the Japan Times was partially under government influence and thus it served government policy in some level. One good example is that the newspaper does not really criticize Kishi. Criticism is expressed via someone else's words, such as politician, lawyer¹⁰¹ or university professor. For example, according to the Japan Times, Shunsuke Tsurumi (assistant professor) said that he considered it "a shame to remain a public official under Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi".¹⁰² These kind of statements by respected authorities surely had their influence on how people perceived Kishi's cabinet.

The Japan Times includes a lot of news about Anpo-protests which is why it was hard to create any coherent image of the protests. At first, I tried to create frequent themes out of these 16 categories by creating mind-maps and writing all the categories on blank paper in order to get coherent image of my research results. After some time, it became apparent that there were three certain themes related to my research question that frequently appear in the Japan Times newspaper. These themes are found amongst all categories. They constitute the whole image of the Anpo-related news in the Japan Times. Next, I will analyze each of these themes more profoundly.

⁹⁹ The Japan Times 19.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

¹⁰⁰ The Japan Times 3.1.1960 & 5.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

¹⁰¹ Lawyer Body Backs Strike against Pact. The Japan Times 3.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

¹⁰² The Japan Times 31.5.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

4 Themes - traditional images and transnational influences

This chapter introduces the main results of the analysis. The results are defined under three different themes that became apparent during content analysis. These themes are 1. Social unity (of Japanese society) 2. Legitimacy (of the protests) 3. Transnationalism. These specific themes are further evolved in chapter five. Theme of social unity focuses on Japanese concept of wa that emphasizes the unity of Japanese people both in society and culture¹⁰³. The Anpo-protests broke this unity and were objectionable in the eyes of the Japan Times. Secondly, the theme of legitimacy focuses on the legality of Anpo-protests that often appears in the Japan Times. For example, the issue of violence is often addressed from the point of legislature. Concept of active shimin relates firmly to theme of legitimacy. Finally, theme of transnationalism highlights transnational issues that are found from the news of the Japan Times. The issues include communism, democracy and peace.

4.1 Themes of the Japan Times

4.1.1 Theme of social unity

Theme of social unity in Japanese society consists issues related to change in Japanese culture and society. It reflects hopes and fears that Japanese people experienced during Anpo-protests in the fields of societal and cultural change. The major observation of content analysis was that Japanese people were not sure how to perceive Anpo-protests and the protests evoked various feelings. Citizens were not ready for societal reforms in post-war Japan that ideas of democratization and liberalism had introduced for them.

Japan in the year 1960 was enclosed by rapid economic growth, conservative politics, U.S. military presence, communism and post-war boom generation. Young people had slowly begun to embrace Western ideas of civil society. This young generation had a major influence on Japanese society in the 1960s. However, it is exaggerated to say that Japanese society changed radically in the 1960s. As following chapter argues, Japanese did not welcome Anpo-protests with open hands for various reasons.

¹⁰³ Isono, Fujiko (1993). The post-surrender democratisation of Japan: Was it a revolution? In Neary, I. War revolution & Japan. London: Routledge, 107-108.

The analysis indicates that the Japan Times was remarkably concerned of who were protesting on the streets. As Kapur (2018) notes, artists and writers were one of the social groups that participated protest and had influence on Japanese postmodernism on the 1960s ¹⁰⁴ . Cultural people have always been forerunners of social transformations, but the Japan Times was interested not only of progressive artists and students but all of those who took part in the Anpo-protests. The emerging question is why the Japan Times always mentions the social group of an Anpo-protestors.

According to Isono Fujiko conservative values still played great importance in post-war Japanese society. Individualism, on the other hand was subversive idea, although democratic principles had become the order of the day since the U.S. occupation. Japan was going through a “revolution” of social structures and popular mentalities. However, Isono is arguing that this “revolution” did not really change the mentality of Japanese people, but Japanese conserved their traditional Confucian values of unity.¹⁰⁵ This is still evident in Japanese society today.

Japanese cultural concept wa (和) literally means harmony but is actually far from harmony in Japanese cultural context. Wa is created when a subordinate proposes an idea different from that of the superior. The superior accepts this advice, when combination of different ideas gives birth to better idea. In Japan wa has determined the relationship of the Emperor and citizen, women and men and boss and worker for ages. However, in the post-war Japan democratic principles started to question the idea of wa and uniformity of social relationships.¹⁰⁶ According to liberal democracy an individual has his/hers own principles that are not restricted to others which is completely opposite of wa that emphasizes unity of one entity and thus one mind.

Wa is present on the Japan Times in many ways. In the Japan Times, the social groups of individuals often come up because the readers (and journalists) of the Japan Times wanted to know who are the people (protestors) who break the harmony of wa. For example, the Japan Times of June 5th1960 writes:

¹⁰⁴ Kapur 2018, 176-177.

¹⁰⁵ Isono 1993, 107-108.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 107-110.

Long columns of students, workers and “intellectuals” staged a massive demonstration to the Diet to protests the new Japan-U.S. Security treaty following the wind-up of a peaceful political general strike yesterday afternoon.¹⁰⁷

Breaking wa breaks the core of Japanese unity. Isono argues that for Japanese culture protesting is simply unacceptable because inferior (citizen) has no right to stand up against superior (government). Japanese must endure injustice and not to complain about it. Obedience is symbol of loyalty and dedication.¹⁰⁸ For the Japan Times it was almost an obligation to inform, who were the citizens that were breaking wa.

Another important aspect that contradicts with concept of wa is the geographical density of protestors which is also often mentioned. For example, Japan Times writes “the Council again mobiles a large number of mass protesters, many of them as far as Hokkaido and Kyushu ”¹⁰⁹. Word “mass protesters” is used whereas social group is not mentioned. If the protests were nationwide, they weren’t possibly breaking wa. Instead, some specific groups were responsible of the social chaos that resulted from breaking the unwritten rule of social harmony.

Students were at the cross-roads with wa and democratic principles. Young university students had followed post-war education unlike their parents and thus they had some level of idea what democracy meant¹¹⁰. For this new generation, concept of wa was changing. New generation of students did not understand the conservative hierarchy between superior and servant, especially in governmental relations. They had digested the core idea of liberal government, democracy. Neither Kishi government nor the U.S. alliance had executed democracy on practice so students felt they had to do something.

Historically, Japanese governments had perceived small ideologically committed groups, such as Christians, as a symbolic threat to their authority. On postwar Japan government directed this threat to communists and more specifically, ideologically leftist students. Thus, students who had many demands for the government were not

¹⁰⁷ The Japan Times, 5.6.1960. Japan Times archives. Access on 15.9.2020.

¹⁰⁸ Isono 1995, 110.

¹⁰⁹ The Japan Times 25.4.1960. Japan Times archives. Access 15.9.2020.

¹¹⁰ Tsurumi, K. (1970). Some Comments on the Japanese Student Movement in the Sixties. In *Journal of Contemporary History*. Vol. 5, No. 1, Generations in Conflict, pp. 104-112.

listened but instead overlooked by authorities. This led many students to explore more aggressive tactics in order to be heard.¹¹¹

The image of students on the Japan Times is highly contradictory and shifts from negative to neutral and occasionally to positive. This suggest that the Japan Times did not really know how to perceive the students. As noted, the Japan Times had governmental connections and it tried to give objective image of the protests. The analysis, however, tells another story. The analysis shows that nearly every time that word student(s) is mentioned, descriptive prefix is used. This was one of the first observations that was made during the content analysis. Following quotes exemplify the observations:

Antirevision students paralyze city traffic.¹¹²

Rocks and bricks hurled at police by infuriated students litter the Diet grounds.¹¹³

Placard-waving students including girls roared out anti-Kishi Government and anti-treaty epithets.¹¹⁴

It seems that the Japan Times wanted to understand the reasons for protesting (and breaking wa) and inform what the students were really doing while protesting (protest techniques). But the interesting point is how the Japan Times sorts out the students into different groups as if some student's protests were socially more acceptable (the next chapter will address this issue of lawfulness more thoroughly).

Those students who broke wa in order to achieve change in Japanese society were often referred negatively. The common feature of these students was some level of political or ideological association such as Zengakuren¹¹⁵ or "fanatic leftist students"¹¹⁶ had. Tsurumi notes that Zengakuren (referred as student movement) was motivated on changing the structure of Japanese society but also on revising

¹¹¹ Steinhoff, P. G. (1984). Student conflict. In Krauss, E., Rohlen, T., & Steinhoff, P. Conflict in Japan. Honolulu HI: University of Hawaii Press. 192-194.

¹¹² The Japan Times, 31.10.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 16.9.2020.

¹¹³ The Japan Times, 16.06.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 16.9.2020.

¹¹⁴ The Japan Times, 24.04.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 16.9.2020.

¹¹⁵ Zengakuren was referred as leftist, radical, diehard, militant and even "most leftists organization in the World" (The Japan Times 17.7.160).

¹¹⁶ The Japan Times, 16.01.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 16.9.2020.

themselves as better human beings¹¹⁷. The political students thus wanted to achieve both change in structures and mentality of Japanese society, not only protests against Kishi or Security treaty. Thus, they were a threat to wa. In a way this was also a conflict between liberalism and conservatism, which explains why “girl students” are always mentioned separately in the Japan Times Anpo-news.

The idea of girl students protesting on the streets was radical, but on contrary protesting housewives were acceptable. Why were the active students perceived as a threat to social unity? In order to understand this one must look into Japanese postwar history. Mari Yamamoto, who has researched Japanese grassroots peace activism argues that post-war years were characterized by tenet of peace promoted by occupation authorities after the World War II. People quickly adapted to principles of pacifism and democracy and were ready for rebirth of a Japanese nation, the herald of World peace.

However, the new mentality was shortly challenged by realpolitik. Heated Cold war situation gave prior to policy measures and saw return of conservative politicians to the Diet. Leftist ideas were cracked down along with civic activism. Japanese people were again under strict control of government authorities, but the intellectuals had already adopted new ideas during post-war years. Many academics had visited the U.S. and understood western principles of democracy.¹¹⁸

Isono notes that university intellectuals changed their attitude towards communism/socialism after the war because they had “guilt complex” towards those who had stood up before nationalistic military regime in the 1930s. Academics felt sympathy towards courageous “reds” and supported them in their actions.¹¹⁹ Universities begun to enshrine democratic values and university reform in 1949 changed universities in many ways. They were not elite institutions anymore, they had “general education courses” such as liberal arts courses and they became self-governing institutions to which state had no right to involve.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Tsurumi 1970, 104-107.

¹¹⁸ Yamamoto 2004, 6-8; Saruya. (2012). 67.

¹¹⁹ Isono 1995, 108.

¹²⁰ Kusahara, K. (2008). *Nihon no Daigakuseido—Rekishi to Tenbo* (The Japanese University System: History and Future Prospects. Tokyo: Kobund. 99,113.

Universities thus fostered liberal thinking and involvement and offered platform for political activism such as Zengakuren. Thus, the Japan Times criticizes universities. Universities were meant to foster democracy and liberalism not political and often leftist ideas. They should have refrained from political activities and to not support them.¹²¹ For example, the Japan Times blames the universities of lacking academic responsibility for not educating their students in a right manner:

The university professors who got them (Zengakuren) started in that direction (protesting) now refuse to take responsibility for their actions - - We have been looking for some expression of regret on the part of university professors and authorities, some admission that they were wrong and have failed their duties as teachers - - The “Ivory tower” concept of higher education is out of date¹²² but “modern” liberal-minded educators cling to the old concept.¹²³

Universities were serious threat to unity and educational minister even proposed abolition of social science department¹²⁴. It seems that Japanese government felt that the universities (some government funded) were supposed to educate reasonable citizens, not protesting “liberals”.

Why did the active students (and university) receive such antipathy from the Japan Times? For example, Sohyo (labour union) was perceived more positively than students. Naturally, leftist ideologies were not perceived very positively in the 1960s Cold War context, but this argument is not adequate to explain this observation. The second argument is that generational differences in Japanese society were highlighted in Anpo-protests.

The post-war generation had different ideas of social unity than those who had born before the Second World war. Social unity for post-war generation did not mean submission. Not all baby boomers had adapted this kind of mentality, but those who attended to universities had started to dispute wa. They did not understand why Japanese had to defer to their former enemy, the U.S. and conservative government.

¹²¹ University professors and teachers supported protests by closing classes. Some professors even resigned to express their dissatisfaction for Kishi government. The Japan Times 31.05.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

¹²² I think the journalist means that teachers should focus on their work as educators and not to take part of “elite” or “liberal” activities such as protesting. It seems that concept of liberalism was associated to economic liberalism, not social liberalism.

¹²³ The Japan Times, 15.2.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

¹²⁴ The Japan Times, 6.2.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

Democratic principles did not endorse these kinds of ideas which is why active students wanted to change the conservative society. Democratic principles include civic activism which encouraged students to protest in a way that was very controversial for Japanese who preferred social harmony over social chaos.

As Packard (1966) argues democracy served as major reason for many protestors, especially for students.¹²⁵ However, democracy was not adopted by most of Japanese and as the Japan Times illustrates democratic protests were discredited as riots. In their opinion, active students did not have any legit reason to protests whereas labor unions and housewives had¹²⁶. Liberal democracy as students understood it was not adequate motive to break social unity and thus reprehensible.

Saruya (2012) notes that concept of democracy in post-war Japan was idealized concept that was implemented by both institutional reform and cultural symbols, such as American culture. However, the new idea of democracy in Japan was implemented with old rituals and practices.¹²⁷ The concept of democracy in Japan was thus a combination of American idealism and Japanese conservatism which explains why people had so many different views about it. For politically active students, democracy possibly meant different things than for LPD politicians.

The theme of social unity is closely connected to concept of shimin. Material analysis of the Japan Times supports Avenell's arguments that during Anpo-protests Japanese civic activism changed from passive to active. This caused confusion among Japanese because it was completely new concept for them. Active shimin had recognized civic activism as a crucial part of democracy. However, conscientious civic activism that intellectuals and cultural people supported had taken civic activism to next step. The Japan Times, however, did not regard civic activism as democratic and instead thought that it was a threat to democracy:

There is no suggestion that a mob of disorderly persons can have the right to assemble before the parliamentary buildings and scream their disapproval of those who think differently of themselves.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Packard 1966, 332-350.

¹²⁶ Labour union (sohyo) and housewives demanded higher wages, resignation of Kishi, not changes on social structures. Writers own note.

¹²⁷ Saruya 2012, 63-64; 78-80.

¹²⁸ The Japan Times, 10.12.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

The continued marshalling of unindividualistic masses for the political purposes of a few is lamentable. But there is serious threat to democracy – the golden word for the perpetrators of the demonstrations mouth to safeguard – inherent in the developing pattern.¹²⁹

Conscientious civic activism had not only adopted principles of democracy but also interpreted concept of peace and war differently. The new concept of peace emphasized freedom, equality, disarmament, and sovereignty, not only absence of war. This democratic concept of peace slowly started to evolve during the 1960s, and journalists' attitudes towards Anpo-protests illustrate that Japanese image of peace was inherently different from those living in the World of the 1970s for example. This argument is more closely analyzed in chapter five. The next theme is not connected to social unity but to more constitutive issue, legality.

4.1.2 Theme of legitimacy

It is regrettable that some of the student demonstrators acted in a disorderly way beyond the rules of democracy, the statement said.¹³⁰

Professors association demanded respect of law from demonstrators in the Japan Times on 18th of June in 1960. The issue of legality is the second theme that rises from the analysis of the Japan Times. If the first theme was concerned of social unity of Japanese people, the second theme is concerned whether the demonstrations or police/government actions were lawful.

Japanese constitution was enacted in 1947 by the U.S. authorities. The new constitution gave priority to individual civil and political rights. Alongside national changes it also gave more freedom for education¹³¹ and police administration in order to reduce dominant bureaucratization. Civil rights, as they were introduced, included freedom of speech, right to strike, right to join unions and all the other principles of democracy. These changes conflicted with pre-war Japanese lifestyle and as previous chapter concluded it is no wonder that Japanese were very confused of the Anpo-protests and controversies related to it.¹³²

¹²⁹ The Japan Times, 30.05.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

¹³⁰ The Japan Times, 18.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 18.9.2020.

¹³¹ Saruya 2012, 62.

¹³² Eccleston, B. (1989). State and society in post-war Japan . Polity Press, 15.

In the Japan Times many issues are related to the legislature or to the question what is legal. For example, the journalists often write about students being arrested or universities protecting violent students. Words like “punishment” or “unlawful tactics” and “illegal demonstration” often appear in the news. The overall image that the reader gets by reading is that the demonstrations itself were not unlawful, but some acts done by the demonstrators were illegal. The illegal acts were to be punished severely.

Democratic constitution determined what was illegal and what was not, but it seems that lawyers were the only ones who understood this:

The protest drive aimed at protecting parliamentary democratism, the statement (by Japanese lawyers’ organization) claimed, is a constitutional right and obligation of the people. Referring to the Governments warnings against the planned general strike, the statement declared that the government had “no right” to warn the people when the Government itself is “committing the greatest violation against the Constitution”.¹³³

In fact, most of the Japanese had not adopted the ideas of the constitution. Instead, they had understood that the form of the constitution did not completely determine it. The Diet was still able to prepare governing structures such as the centralization of the police.¹³⁴ Japan was in a sense between the Diet, the democratic constitution and their own moral values that were influenced by both history and present.

From the perspective of the Japan Times most unlawful issue was violence. Japan Times vividly reports whether violence was used during demonstrations either by protestors, students, police or rightists. Examples:

The students will be charged with violence and destruction of public property¹³⁵

Students, unionists, politicians and private citizens assembled before the diet building yesterday demanding immediate Diet dissolution of the Kishi cabinet, but expected violence did not develop.¹³⁶

¹³³ The Japan Times, 3.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.9.2020.

¹³⁴ Eccleston 1989, 18-19; Kitaoka 2018, 156.

¹³⁵ The Japan Times, 17.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 23.9.2020.

¹³⁶ The Japan Times, 19.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 23.9.2020.

Two lives were believed lost yesterday as about 12,000 fanatic Zengakuren students stormed the national Diet grounds and engaged in a bloody, club-swinging, stone-throwing battle with the police.¹³⁷

Violence by any other than police was disapproved. Interestingly, violence was even to be expected from the student protestors in the summer of 1960. The Japan Times seemed to be surprised that after some violent clashes, students started to refrain from violence. However, it is worth noticing that the journalists did not speak out of police violence at all, probably because the Japan Times had close relations to government and did not want to incite rumors that police was using aggression towards often peaceful demonstrators.

From the point of legality, violence was in every way objectionable. Scholar Eiko Siniawer (2011) argues that violence was enemy of democracy, totally incompatible with democratic principles. Most of the Japanese had personal history with the most excessive use of violence and condemned it. However, nationalistic ex-war criminals who were resurrected from their prisons and set up as the leaders of the country took control not only of the police force but also yakuza, the Japanese mafia. Nationalistic, conservative government which had close relations with the U.S. saw all socialistic ideas as a threat and thus punishable. With the help of yakuza and controlled police force the government agitated demonstrators into violent acts.¹³⁸ Naturally, some demonstrators did use violence for their own motives, but reason why the demonstrations escalated to violence is a double-edged sword.

If the principle of democracy included nonviolence, why the police were permitted to use aggressive force against peaceful protestors? This dualism left radical demonstrators with no other choice than violence. In the spring of 1960 people started to understand that sometimes protection of civil rights demanded civic resistance. Young, energetic and furious students acknowledged this but started to refrain from violence after the death of Michiko Kamba.¹³⁹ It is unknown whether more protestors died during bloody clashes of June 15th but some interviews on the Japan Times presume that there were more casualties. Although Michiko Kamba was

¹³⁷ The Japan Times, 16.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 23.9.2020.

¹³⁸ Siniawer, E. (2011). *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists : The Violent Politics of Modern Japan, 1860-1960*. Cornell University Press. 139-140.

¹³⁹ Siniawer 2011, 161-169.

not the first casualty of the turbulent year of 1960¹⁴⁰ her death changed the way how Japanese perceived both democracy and peace.

Death of Michiko Kamba attained some attention but not remarkably. The Japan Times paid attention to funerals held for her, symbols (black ribbons) that were used to express sorrow, reactions of the Diet and so on. The overall image of how the Japan Times perceived the Anpo-protests is very detailed and informative, but not very profound probably because journalist did not want to speak out. Legality is recurrent theme but not so deep-though as theme of social unity. Categories of violence, politics, law, motive and influence on Japanese society include a lot of information but not very prominent info for this thesis. The Japan Times was worried about destruction of property or influence of the protests on economy, but they do not offer consequential material for this analysis.

Nonetheless, one issue is to be analyzed more profoundly. The issue of responsibility is often raised to the table on the context of Anpo-protests. The Japan Times often poses the question of social responsibility by asking who is in charge. The government, the students or someone else? Naturally, the government is not criticized by journalists but instead is criticized by professors for example¹⁴¹. Students are held responsible for their actions but so are educational experts and even Japanese citizens¹⁴²:

...It is clear that the idea of putting illegal pressure upon the Government did not originate with the students. Rather it is a case of irresponsible youths being worked up by misconduct by those who should know better... We need only mention the bad example of given by the Teachers Union which has repeatedly advocated disobedience to the orders of the Government and tried to obstruct the operation of the law.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ On March 1960 mine union protestor Kubo Kiyoshi was killed with a sword by company hired yakuza protestor. Death of Kubo unified miners union to Anpo-struggle and eventually they all protested for same cause, resignation of Kishi government. Siniawer 2011, 162-165.

¹⁴¹ "Generally speaking, the students today are a wholesome lot. It is rather the politicians who are unrealistic and immoral. It would be unfair to judge all students from the acts of few." Kyo Tsuneto, honorary professor. The Japan Times. 25.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 24.9.2020.

¹⁴² "Students are apt to resort to radical actions. We should take the blame for our inability to organize their youthful energy." Iwai, Akira. The Japan Times. 17.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 24.9.2020.

¹⁴³ The Japan Times. 2.12.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 24.9.2020.

It seems that there was some level of sympathy towards the radical actions of the students although the actions were sometimes illegitimate. Japanese understood that there were serious problems in their post-war society. However, in the spirit of Cold war the Japan Times blamed communism as major perpetrator as well. For example, the Japan Times writes:

It must be evident to all loyal Japanese that a formidable effort is being put forth by the leftist elements here to destroy constitutional government and to secure the triumph of a system which cannot be distinguished from communism and which would ally itself with the Red block. All good citizens who believe in parliamentary democracy must therefore unite and to see that this conspiracy does not succeed though apathy and lack of understanding on their part.¹⁴⁴

The events of the past weeks may well represent the beginning of a determined effort by the extreme leftist elements to pull Japan into Communist camp - - It is time the people here realized that the present political furor is more than a struggle to unseat the Kishi government and to dissolve the Diet. In this connection, it would be well for the Japanese people to study the Communist takeover of the East European democracies.¹⁴⁵

What the Japan Times tried to say was that communists were trying to take over the country by agitating people into leftist movements – such as Sohyo and Zengakuren – and that people should see through this. The attitude towards the leftists did not radically change during the eight months of protesting as above quotes indicate. Issue of external influences leads the analysis to the third theme, transnationalism.

4.1.3 Theme of transnationalism

The demonstrators carried red flags and placards with anti-American, anti-Ike, anti-Kishi and anti-treaty slogans. Among the demonstrators at the embassy were about 300 overseas Chinese residents in Tokyo, who sang Communist Chinese songs and waved Communist Chinese flags, banners and placards reading in English and Japanese letters “Get out of Taiwan Yankee”.¹⁴⁶

Preceding quote describes manifoldness of Anpo-protests quite well. The protests are often portrayed as anti-Kishi and anti-Security treaty, but they are much more than

¹⁴⁴ The Japan Times. 2.12.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.10.2020.

¹⁴⁵ The Japan Times. 11.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.10.2020.

¹⁴⁶ The Japan Times, 12.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 29.9.2020.

that. Although the news about Anpo-protests are mainly concerned with students, legal issues, protests techniques and government reactions, there are many interesting news that are related to transnational issues.

The above quote introduces some of the issues that can be regarded as transnational. Red flags, Chinese residents and Communist Chinese songs and flags are all related to communism (also socialism in this context). Then there are anti-American issues, such as anti-Ike slogans and placard reading “Get out of Taiwan Yankee” meaning that the U.S. should withdraw its corps of Taiwan, the country between East and West. But there is more than just confrontation between two ideological blocks. If the quote is read between the lines it shows that the demonstrators were multinational, and they had been influenced by different, transnational themes.

As noted, communism is one of the most referred issue on the research material and on the context of this research it is regarded as transnational because the Japan Times tends to see it that way. Communism was not seen as domestic issue or internal threat but an external one. Communist revolution was a serious threat to democracy in all “Western” countries and in Japan old conservative politicians shared the desire to weaken socialism and threatful communism above all¹⁴⁷. No wonder, why the Japan Times also talks very lowly of communism, especially on the last page columns.

Gov’t blames Riot on Red agitators¹⁴⁸

The Communist aim is, of course, to drive wedge between Japan and the United States. - - The blurb about “we love the people but not the policy” stems purely from Communist thinking upon their background of a dictatorial setup.¹⁴⁹

Prime movers of this ridiculous agitation are to be found in Moscow and Peiping seems tolerably certain and that there must be some underground connection between these and the leftists extremists in Japan is a-natural conclusion...It must be evident to all loyal Japanese that a formidable effort is put forth by the leftist elements here to destroy constitutional government and to secure the triumph of a

¹⁴⁷ Siniawer 2011, 140; Kapur 2018, 6.

¹⁴⁸ The Japan Times, 16.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 29.9.2020.

¹⁴⁹ The Japan Times, 1.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 29.9.2020.

system which cannot be distinguished from communism and would ally itself with the Red block.¹⁵⁰

Above all, communism is seen as external threat that is extremely dangerous for young and relentless liberal students who do not seem to know the best of their country. This reflects premier Kishi's thinking which classified protests as international communist conspiracy and warned media of being too sympathetic towards protestors.¹⁵¹ This explains why the language of the Japan Times is what it is. The attitude towards communism becomes more moderate during the year of 1960 but the conspiracy towards it does not completely fade out. After death of Michiko Kamba the attitude changes again when even neutralism is seen as communist.

... The neutralism proposed in connection with the opposition of the new security treaty is the Soviet and Chinese brand of neutrality that is a mere smokescreen for joining the communist bloc.¹⁵²

The other major category that lies beneath theme transnationalism is Japanese relations with the U.S. but according to material analysis no specific issues are worth more specific analysis. This was highly expected. The Japan Times does not criticize the U.S. in any manner and does not even express any opinions about anything. The language is very diplomatic and careful. Only issues that caught attention were on how concerned the Japan Times seems to be of the image of Japan in the eyes of the U.S. (or the Western block).

The Japanese word Zengakuren has now become as popular as geisha and Mt.fuji which have long been the popular Japanese words... The impression left by the Zengakuren incident in Tokyo on the general public in Europe is a "victory of Moscow and Peiping" and loss of prestige for the Western side.¹⁵³

This kind of news demonstrate that the Anpo-protests were followed other parts of the World too and that Japan was very cautious of its global image. But what is not so closely researched before is an interesting fact that the Japanese itself were

¹⁵⁰ The Japan Times, 2.12.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 29.9.2020.

¹⁵¹ Sasaki-Uemura, W. (2002). Competing Publics: Citizens' Groups, Mass Media, and the State in the 1960s. Positions : East Asia Cultures Critique, 10(1), 83.

¹⁵² Fukushima, Shintaro. 17.7.1960. Socialists and their "peaceful neutrality. The Japan Times. The Japan Times archives. Access 22.10.2020.

¹⁵³ Kikuchi, Mamoru. The Japan Times. 21.6.1960. Riots leading story of European newspapers. The Japan Times archives. Access 29.9.2020.

cautious of what happened other parts of the World too and took influences of other countries as well.

Ando outlines in his dissertation how many protests against authoritarian states occurred in other countries in the 1960s and that Anpo-protests were part of the global protests for post-colonialization and democratization.¹⁵⁴ However, Ando does not elaborate this argument more profoundly. Furthermore, Kapur notes that revolutions in South Korea and Turkey fueled Anpo-protestors¹⁵⁵ but does not mention where this assumption is based on.

The analysis of this research suggests similar arguments and offers some evidence on these claims as well. For example,

“We must stone Eisenhower as the brave Venezuelan students did to Nixon in Caracas” he (Tatsuo Hayama, leader of Young communist league) said. “We can down tyrants only by violence”.¹⁵⁶

Other protests and riots are very precisely informed on the pages of the Japan Times which was surprising since the news covered all parts of the World, not only Western hemisphere or East-Asia. However, it can be observed that the Japan Times journalist did not want (or could not) create any link between other protests movements and Anpo-protests. This was probably deliberate. For example, when writing of Korean protests, the journalist sticks strictly on political statements of Foreign ministry and Japanese government. The same structure recurs amidst other protest news.

-- Opposition naturally hopes that it will catch fire throughout the nation much in the manner of the South Korean riots which brought the downfall of former president Syngman Rhee. That it has not developed in that direction indicates, of course, that the difference between the situation in South Korea and Japan.¹⁵⁷

It feels like that the Japan Times tried to calm down the atmosphere and reassure its readers that the situation in Japan is completely different of other, authoritarian

¹⁵⁴ Ando 2010, 90.

¹⁵⁵ Kapur 2018, 21.

¹⁵⁶ United Press International, 26.04.1960. In The Japan Times. Japan Times archives. Access 30.9.2020.

¹⁵⁷ The Japan Times, 1.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 30.9.2020.

countries. Some editorials even try to underestimate the protestors by belittling their reasons to protests:

Students from South Korea and Turkey whose classmates have shed blood in recent violent uprisings might explain the basis for their discontent: they fought against authoritarianism and dictatorship which was encroaching upon their freedom. In Japan, ironically, students who have never been denied their freedom were fighting against an alliance with the Free World which would guarantee them their liberty.¹⁵⁸

Nonetheless, the news exemplify that the Anpo-protests had various transnational connections that were not related to communism nor to the U.S.

The pan Afro-Asian Solidary committee decided yesterday to call on nations of Africa and Asia to open a joint movement against the treaty.¹⁵⁹

-- Council representatives also decided to organize a committee of 100 persons to protests the signing.¹⁶⁰

Both pan Afro-Asian Solidary committee and committee of 100 were (and are) transnational organizations concentrating on international peace and civil rights. Anti-nuclear bomb groups had been a striving force behind Japanese civil rights movement years before Anpo¹⁶¹, and offered enthusiastic protestors valuable information of civic activism. Mari Yamamoto argues that many workers had interest in international trends because of vivid memoirs of war and fear of another one. She explains how labor movement Sohyo had many international ties in the 1950s which supports the observations of this thesis.¹⁶² Furthermore, Kazuko notes that some protestors embraced universal values of peace and opposed all military interventions in all countries. These activists were not affiliated with the JCP nor they were xenophobic towards any nationality.¹⁶³ These protestors were the true aspirers of universal World peace.

As shown, the Japan Times gives Anpo-protests transnational image on some level. But were Anpo-protests really a transnational phenomenon? On the limits of this

¹⁵⁸ The Japan Times, 17.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 23.10.2020.

¹⁵⁹ The Japan Times 3.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 2.11.2020.

¹⁶⁰ The Japan Times 8.1.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 8.1.1960.

¹⁶¹ Avenell 2010, 80.

¹⁶² Yamamoto 2004, 85-89.

¹⁶³ Kazuko 2015, 380.

research it is impossible to say whether the protestors really had transnational connections. More profound research would require more comprehensive material that would include interviews or second primary source. Also, it would be necessary to analyze more broader timespan than just one year. However, some implications can be constituted the material of this research as well.

One perception relates to the concept of peace. Peace appears 26 times in the material in various forms. Most of the codes that are categorized as “peace” are related to nonviolence and thus under theme “legislation”. However, some codes indicate more transnational matter. For example, there were 10 000-kilometer-long “peace march” in Japan that protested not only Security treaty but total disarmament.¹⁶⁴ Students also used sit-down techniques¹⁶⁵ in their protests which is closely related to peaceful resistance similar to Afro-American civil rights movement sit-ins for example.¹⁶⁶

Yamamoto argues that for Japanese concept of peace varied from person to another. For grassroots activists, peace was characterized by the memory of war whereas academics took many influences from Western concepts of peace and pacifism. Japanese word *heiwa shugi* (平和主義, literally peace ism) is often used to depict their peace-loving attitude but it does not really mean anything concrete.¹⁶⁷ Thus, it can be said that peace has very ambiguous character in Japanese culture ranging from the absence of war to human rights issues.¹⁶⁸ The concept of peace in the 1960s was influenced by domestic and transnational ideas of peace and thus it was interpreted in various ways. Some more locally, some more transnationally.

Concept of peace was not the only thing that was divided by transnational and local influences. Democracy was another one and idea of civic activism third one. All these concepts were very contentious in the 1960s Japan. What did they really mean for the whole society or more specifically to protestors? The Japan Times writes:

¹⁶⁴ The Japan Times. 6.8.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 1.10.2020.

¹⁶⁵ The Japan Times. 28.11.1959. The Japan Times archives. Access 1.10.2020.

¹⁶⁶ Wallenstein, Peter. (2013). *To Sit or Not to Sit: Scenes in Richmond from the Civil Rights Movement*. In *Blue Laws and Black Codes* (p. 114–). University of Virginia Press.

¹⁶⁷ *Heiwa shugi* is often translated as pacifism but according to Japanese scholar Fujiwara Osamu, there is no English equivalent for the word. (Yamamoto. 2004. 10.)

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

The paper (by antipact council) labeled the new security treaty a military alliance of an aggressive nature which would impose added military obligations on Japan, increase Japan's subservience to the United States and ultimately threaten peace in Asian and the Far East.¹⁶⁹

The quote above poses an interesting question. What if the protestors had adopted the idea of global peace and were protesting not for the sake of Japan but also for the sake of Asia as well? This argument is not very far-fetched but questions whether the Japanese people had kind of transnational image of peace in their minds in the year of 1960 or not. Many scholars who have researched Anpo-protests have underlined domestic motives and causes for protests without questioning the possibility of the motives being shaped by transnational influences. As Westad argues, Cold war was above all, global.

Anpo-protests had influence on many other protests afterwards which indicates that people around the World were cautious of what was happening in Japan. As Kapur has argued, Anpo-protests were first large-scale street protests that were filmed and broadcasted around the globe.¹⁷⁰ No wonder, that many future movements were inspired by Anpo-protestors later in the 1960s.

In the previous chapters I have analyzed what kind of image the Japan Times produced of Anpo-protests and what issues were observed the most. Themes of social unity, legitimacy and transnationalism may seem completely abstract but when compared to earlier research more thorough image of the research topic is can be acquired.

¹⁶⁹ The Japan Times. 14.5.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 1.10.2020.

¹⁷⁰ Kapur 2018, 3.

5 Versatility of the Anpo-protests

The image of the Anpo-protests in the Japan Times is undoubtedly manifold. The word “ambiguous” is not necessarily the best one to describe the protests since the Japan Times describes the protests very clearly and straightforwardly. The diversified image depends on who is writing, what has happened in terms of legality, who are protesting and for what cause. Some of the news are biased towards the government, others towards the protestors and most are connected to transnational news, events and reactions. The timing also plays great importance since the approach varies from open judgement (December 1959) to more sympathetic approach (May 1960) and again to more negative tone (June 1960).

However, interesting point is that the Japan Times did not strive to neutralism in its news. Maybe in the context of Cold war it was not possible to remain neutral since neutralism was regardless accounted as pro-Soviet or pro-American. Neutrality, as people in the 21st century understand it, did not exist in 1960.

It seems that the Japan Times tried to remain some level of objectivity towards the protests but had to consent with the official policies. In the times of heated Cold war media had to be extremely discreet towards all the events happening around the globe and the politically infused protests were one of the most volatile ones. No wonder, that the Japan Times wanted to keep its approach assorted.

The analysis provided many insights to the research question. This chapter attempts to answer on questions that were raised before and during the analysis. Do the results correlate with research literature and did the research method work on practice? Do the results support the hypothesis and what are the final conclusions? All results and arguments are analyzed with critical approach.

5.1 On the verge of social change – main arguments of the thesis

Term “phenomenon” closely relates to issue of certain mentality or image, as Fält¹⁷¹ describes. This image was characterized by Japanese history, contemporary society and global context. As argued, Japanese were still recovering from their wartime experiences during the 1950s. Intellectuals, especially, regretted their commitment

¹⁷¹ Fält 2002.

on wartime regime and wanted to promote ideals of parliamentary democracy¹⁷². When young hearted students and labor unions started their protests in 1959 many Japanese citizens started to adapt the idea of democracy as well. What was this new society they were living in? Were they independent or subject of American imperialism? As the traumas of war started to dissolve new ideas started to emerge. This new idea gave rise to Anpo-phenomenon, that was above all, the change in the image of how Japanese people perceived their society and their role in it.

The all three themes introduced in chapter four indicate change in Japanese society. These changes influenced mentality of Japanese people and thus the whole image of society as well. Theme one, social unity, had it's influence on the concept of wa. Japanese started to react differently on the principle of harmony that had long traditions in Japanese culture. Harmony preferred consensus over conflict but this ideal changed in the wake of Anpo protests. "Conflict" did not necessarily mean clash with the authorities but more like an active civic resistance based on the ideas of self-governance, equality and republicanism¹⁷³. It could be argued that Japanese image of society changed more from authoritarian to democratic or "modern". However, the change occurred gradually during the next decades, as in many other countries such as South Korea as well.

The second theme relates to change in legislature that is closely connected to concept of liberal democracy and the concept of peace. When Japanese started to figure out the ideals of democracy, they understood that their government was not abiding by parliamentary constitution itself and began to question behavior of their "democratic" politicians. Furthermore, people understood that the actions of the U.S. foreign policy did not follow principles of democracy either which is why so many people started to oppose the new Security treaty. But the major change unfolded in the media and consequently had an impact on a new generation in a global scale.

The third theme is connected to comprehensive image of the World that radically changed during postwar years and culminated in Anpo-protests. During prewar years, Japan was homogenous, authoritarian aggressor country that was not interested in forming good relations with other countries. This mentality was broken after the

¹⁷² Saruya 2012, 82.

¹⁷³ Avenell 2010, 80.

World War II, but prewar generations had hard times adapting to new “order” that did not come from the emperor, but from the former enemy. The prewar generations tried to adapt new ideals to the old traditions in order to achieve minimal change in the society. However, the postwar generation was more open minded and adapted foreign influences willingly. The postwar generation was significantly more transnational than generations before them.

Transnational ideas were transmitted by media, more significantly newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Already in the 1950s majority of Japanese people could read and people consumed newspapers and magazines notably. Japanese newspapers printed large amount of foreign news because it was easier to analyze and criticize foreign issues compared to domestic ones. When talking about Japanese media it important to remember that media was not genuinely independent from the government control. In fact, the role of the press was to foster harmony, but only theoretically.¹⁷⁴ For example, while reading the Japan Times one can notice some level of criticism behind the news.

Although the Japan Times does not directly associate protests in Korea and Turkey to Anpo-protests the overall image is that Anpo-protests annexed many features from other protests. How can one make such argument only by analyzing one newspaper for one-year period? Obviously, one cannot. However, research literature supports this argument to some extent.

Halloran argues that Japanese press had very ambivalent approach towards the Anpo-protests. This emphasizes previously argued statement that Japanese press was indeed between many fires. Journalists tried to remain objective in a sense but at the same time conformed the government and encouraged students into protesting by referencing to earlier student uprisings in other countries (Turkey, Korea). Newspapers opposed violence also seemed to feel that sometimes violence was necessary as in student uprisings against the authorities. However, violence should not have escalated to mob violence or against the U.S.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Halloran, R. (1973). A regulated press. In Livingston, J., Moore, J., & Oldfather, F. The Japan reader. 2, Postwar Japan : 1945 to the present . New York: Pantheon. 381-384.

¹⁷⁵ Halloran 1973, 385.

Despite the journalistic objectivity newspapers were perhaps indirectly associating Anpo-protests with other protests. The Japan Times often writes about foreign protests movements or uprisings on the same page with the Anpo-protests. For example, the frontpage of April 21st1960 writes about South Korean riots, Security treaty controversy, Venezuelan insurrection and bloody clash between miners and police in Japan¹⁷⁶. Similarly, May 28th1960 frontpage writes about Turkish coup d'état, Japanese newsmen protesting against Kishi and workers demanding resignation.¹⁷⁷ Is this coincidence or carefully calculated journalism? On the limits of this research this question cannot be answered. However, it is worthy observation.

Steinhoff Patricia, who has researched student conflicts in Japanese context asserts that mechanism and vocabulary of Japanese student movements were predominantly Western influenced. She argues that Japanese student movements started to use more western tactics on their protests movements because traditional Japanese techniques were not adequate. Japanese tradition did not provide enough tools for conflict expression and that is why Western influenced were needed.¹⁷⁸ These statements endorse the hypothesis of this thesis by arguing that protests techniques and vocabulary in Japan were not completely domestic, but more like transnationally shared. For example, on June 20th1960 20,000 students and unionists staged fruitless, all-night, sit-down, nonviolent, anti-treaty demonstration near the Diet building.¹⁷⁹ Ironically, nonviolent protests are referred as fruitless, not successful.

Media played important role on transmitting transnational ideas around the globe but as noted transnational links were not very visible. This is because media tried to maintain harmony in the society, in terms of wa. However, harmony was not the only issue to care of. Media was trying to balance between government and opposition parties which was not easy. The U.S. and conservatives blamed the media of their leftist bias whereas socialists regarded the media as capitalist. It its true that media sided with the government more than with the opposition, but it was natural to side

¹⁷⁶ The Japan Times 21.4.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 2.11.2020.

¹⁷⁷ The Japan Times 28.05.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020. See also the Japan Times 12.11.1959 (last page).

¹⁷⁸ Steinhoff, P. G. 1984, 210-211.

¹⁷⁹ The Japan Times 20.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 2.11.2020.

with the main authority, government.¹⁸⁰ Natural on this context means that newspapers did not have other choice.

Although Japanese protested the Security treaty, majority associated the treaty with domestic not intergovernmental politics. However, Zengakuren and other protestors that opposed American imperialism per se were interested of intergovernmental issues. They wished for change in international politics as well. Socialists chairman Inejiro Asanuma encouraged protestors: “The future belongs to you young men. Let us continue our struggles until we beat imperialism”¹⁸¹.

It could be argued that no other than students relate Anpo-protests to larger, transnational phenomenon of the protest culture. The late 1950s saw rise on the civil rights movement across the globe which was not coincidence. The rise of the youth culture around the World influenced societies more than ever. Music, for example, united people in unprecedented ways. But culture was not the only case that lead to rise of the civil movements. Duzdiak (2000) poses and arguments that since the governments were so attached on their international image during Cold war civil rights activists had more space to organize their action¹⁸². Cold war was favorable time for protest movements. The U.S. government, for example, had more important international issues to deal with than focusing on Afro-American civil rights movement.

Could the Anpo-protests then be described as a transnational phenomenon? It can be argued that students had transnational connections, but majority of the people did not. Radical students and peace activist possibly had internationally influenced motives for protesting whereas most of the people were simply demanding resignation of Kishi in the name of democracy. Anpo-protests were not coherent protest movement which has become evident during this research as well. Some groups were more influenced by transnational ideas than others which probably divided people into different protest groups as well. Researcher cannot assume that majority of the people had transnational ties in the 1960s Japan. Some students were maybe more exposed to foreign influences than other generations because of their English skills,

¹⁸⁰ Krauss, 1996, 363-364.

¹⁸¹ The Japan Times 20.6.1960. The Japan Times archives. Access 3.11.2020.

¹⁸² Dudziak, M. (2002). Cold War civil rights : race and the image of American democracy. In Cold War civil rights : race and the image of American democracy. Princeton University Press.

university education and eager minds. Therefore, the results indicate that the image of the Anpo-protests was transnational to some extent but due the limits of this research it cannot be argued that the Anpo-protests had transnational “image”. More comprehensive analysis would be required.

The results answered to the research question adequately. Comprehensive image of the Anpo-protests in the Japan Times was acquired. Furthermore, by means of the research results it is possible to explain the 1960s Japanese society and politics more profoundly. Since this research has succeeded in analyzing what was designed in research plan it means that this research is valid. Nevertheless, some level of self-criticism should be appointed.

5.2 Criticism of the results

It was relatively hard to form any coherent image of the material analysis and it took a lot of time to figure out the final themes which connected all the categories together. It was also very hard to combine theoretical framework to the results of the analysis. I almost gave up with the transnational theory because it did not seem very fruitful. However, thoughts of giving up are part of the research process. Producing new information should not come to pass without a bit of frustration.

Still, I must admit that the research method did not feel the most accurate for this thesis. I am not completely sure whether theory-guided content analysis was the right methodological choice but nevertheless I was able to construct some coherent image of the research topic. Yet, on the limits of this thesis it cannot be argued that Anpo-protests had transnational influences or were transnational. This would require more extensive research material and perhaps comparison with some other country such as South Korea.

Some aspects reduce the reliability of the results. First on foremost, as a social scientist and humanist I acknowledge that some of my personal beliefs may have influenced on the results of material analysis. Perhaps too much emphasis was paid on the students or maybe the actions of Kishi government have appeared negatively for me. However, as a historian I have attempted to remain as neutral and believe that the material analysis was conducted as objectively as possible with an open mind.

Secondly, I have tried my best on comprehending the historical context of this research by reading a lot of research material, but every historian knows that it is not completely possible to identify with the society that one has not lived in. Thus, I hope this thesis gives justification for the people who have lived in Japanese society in the 1960s. An ethical role of the historian is to produce understanding of the past as veritable as possible. This issue relates to the question whether a researcher can produce comprehensive understanding of foreign culture and society. I hope that my approach has not been biased nor estranged but analytical and objective.

The research results correlate with research literature arguments to a large degree which implies that this research was able to generate credible results. The duality in the image of protests offers valuable information of the whole Japanese society in the 1960s context which makes the research results more creditable. Duality was partially caused by transnationalism which is why it is important to pay more interest on transnationalism. For example, transnationalism had influence on the press, on the students, on the ideal of democracy, ideal of communism and so on. The press, the people and the government all were in between of transnational and national forces, which is why the society was so divided and in the middle of societal change. In the 1960s this was not unique only for Japan, but Japan was one of the first countries that started the decade of major civil rights and anti-war movements. This has been widely neglected in the academia that have emphasized the influence of Western hemisphere to protests movements, although the influences have been transnational.

I believe that similar results could be found with different methods and materials when using the transnationalism as theoretical guidance. Although the material used in this thesis is relatively small, some conclusions can be made from it. As many researchers have pointed out, the newspapers in Japan were relatively similar and did not have very versatile opinions about government policies. The Japan Times is a little bit different because it was targeted on foreigners and was under the influence of Foreign office but so were many other newspapers too. As pointed out, the Japan Times may have had more independence than Japanese language papers and thus it was not necessarily so biased towards some issues as many other papers.

I acknowledge that naturally many research articles and volumes have been left out because my limited Japanese language skills. However, these limitations have been

noted in the beginning of this research and research was carried out with these issues kept in mind. Also, there is always a possibility that during material analysis something important might have been left unnoticed. Maybe the research literature influenced too much on the analysis process particularly by narrowing the research focus on students, communism and other major issues. Thankfully, transnationalism was able to offer different point of view to Anpo-protests, so the results did not end up being simple summary of the previous researches.

The relation of this thesis to previous research is supportive but also counterfactual. Many arguments presented in earlier Anpo-related research are supported such as the perception of the communists in Japanese media. However, some discoveries like transnational protests techniques offer some new thoughts about Japanese protests culture. Also, new information of the Anpo-protests was evidently created since the Japan Times has not been previously used as primary source among scholars in this research context.

Considering the overall research results, one cannot make assumption that the Anpo-protests were indeed transnational. Therefore, this research fails to offer any notable results of transnationalism. The image of the Anpo-protest was transnational to some extent which suggest that the protests had transnational influences. Transnationalism offered a new perspective to research topic but was not able to constitute valid research results. However, in academic research all the results are important. At least, I was able to learn a lot about content analysis and coding. Therefore, this research process has been very rewarding.

Finally, it is relevant to disclose some ideas from scholar Donatella della Porta. She argues that social movement studies are still in pursuit of addressing transnational phenomena in their research. Comprehensive focus on national factors, Western democratic countries and non-governmental actors have averted researchers on focusing transnational phenomena from different aspects.¹⁸³ In other words, approach on transnational civic movements has been somewhat short-sighted. Hopefully this thesis can offer more extensive image of transnational social phenomena such as civil movements

¹⁸³ Porta, D. (2011). Afterword: Social Movement Studies and Transnationalization: An Uneasy Relation or a Happy Start? An Afterword. In *Protest Beyond Borders* (NED - New edition, 1, p. 200–). Berghahn Books, 200-201.

6 Epilogue

After conducting the research analysis, the overall feeling is a bit interrogative. The research left some open questions which is a good thing since the point of this research was not to acquire any complete answer to the research question. The goal instead was to find out how English language newspaper portrays the Anpo-protests and why the protests are portrayed as they are. These questions were asked in order to understand the whole context of the Anpo-protests and what it might tell about the Japanese society and the 1960s politico-cultural context Worldwide.

Historical background and theoretical framework were introduced in chapter two. In order to answer research question, a large amount of research literature was explored. American, Japanese and European scholars constituted most of the research literature authors and almost all books were written in English. Books were published between 1950-2018 which is broad timespan – that however is not a problem in historical research. Instead, it is good that the all volumes were not published in the same decade since it could decrease research reliability. A lot of historical information was acquired and most relevant were included in this thesis.

Volumes by academics Kapur, Saruya and Ando offered important knowledge of the Anpo-protests. With the help of these volumes it was easy to understand that Anpo-protests are much more complicated phenomenon than Packard for example considers. After reading various volumes by many different authors it was intriguing to ask whether the Anpo-protests were transnational on some level. This led to the exploration of theoretical background framed by transnationalism and historical study of images. The theories of Tarrow and Yves-Saunier helped me to construct broader understanding of transnationalism in the historical context. Furthermore, historical study of images by Fält endorsed comprehensive knowledge of the Anpo-protests as socio-cultural phenomenon.

The overall results were introduced in chapter three whereas chapter four introduced three different themes: social unity, legislation and transnationalism. These themes are connected to the larger context of Anpo-protests and relate to constructive force of social change that characterized Japanese society in the year of 1960. The World was changing and so was Japan. The image of the protests in the Japan Times

reflects this change through these themes. As the results of the analysis indicate, the image of the Anpo-protests varied because Japanese society had changed so rapidly during the 1950s and was still changing in the 1960s. For journalists it was not easy to dictate what is right and wrong anymore because concepts of right and wrong had also changed. As noted, the Japan Times was on crossfire between many contrasting forces which explains its diversified image towards the Anpo-protests.

Along with main research results, some interesting observations were discovered. I believed that the Japan Times would portray protests in more negative manner, because research literature addresses Anpo-protests in a negative tone (death, violence, loss of democracy and eventually, no major change accomplished). However, the protests were portrayed more positively than I imagined. The image of the protests was after all very humane and hopeful, not so pessimistic as research literature suggests. However, the tone of the Japan Times also changed after the Hagerty incident and death of Michiko Kamba. Maybe earlier research has focused solely on the influence of these incidents and not taken account the whole protests that started already in 1959.

This raised interest to broader analysis of Japanese newspapers. Is this unique only for the Japan Times, or does this appear on of other newspapers as well? Could more broader media analysis offer different image of the protests? Overall, it would be interesting to analyze other newspapers, such as Asahi Shimbun, Yomiuri Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun from the perspective of transnationalism. Other media, such as magazines could be also included. Maybe magazine Contemporary Japan that I was planning to use would have offered more broader image of the Anpo-protests. Conversely, it would be an option to analyze Anpo-protests from the lens of foreign media, such as New York Times or The Guardian. Comparative research with some other country could offer more rewarding research results from. Further research could reassert the argument that Anpo-protests were indeed part of a larger transnational phenomenon of social change. Hence, this research offers many options for future research.

What this thesis has to offer for transnational history? I personally hope that this thesis encourages other scholars to look history from more transnational point of view whether they are researching political history or not. History of movements and

ideas tend to focus on specific countries and revolutionist thinkers or activists although everything usually begins from the grassroots. The ideas of grassroots movements are often transnational by nature. In the times of digital media, it is easy to understand transnational connections but when looking back to history it is not so evident. I hope that all the fellow scholars who are doing research on the fields of history will try to look the past from more transnational lens. The World history is much more connected than nation-centered history has thought. Since the past networks have not left many sources, a historian must look for them carefully, almost like an inspector.

This thesis offers extensive understanding of the Anpo-protests as a historical phenomenon that occurred as a response to heated Cold war situation both domestically and internationally. Japanese were possibly more transnational as previously proposed and causes of Anpo-protests were not so unambiguous as some researchers have emphasized. Overall, Anpo-protests represent the image that people around the globe had which is the need for change in politics, culture and society. Japanese were in the frontline to initiate the decade of demonstrations that changed the whole World for good. This aspect has been widely neglected in Eurocentric Cold War history but thankfully the global and transnational histories have started to pay more attention to the Orient. The U.S. had major influence on Japan during the Cold war, but the relationship was above all bilateral. Western state-centric historians tend to forget this, and transnational historians serve an important role in changing it.

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The Japan Times

All the News Without Fear or Favor



64th Year No. 22,497

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1960

LATE CITY EDITION 12 Yen

2 Feared Dead as Storm Hits

Security Treaty Wins Approval Of Senate Body

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave speedy approval Tuesday to the new U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty.

The treaty was approved without a dissenting vote in the 11-hour session, the Senate being only 20 minutes. The action was the first step toward ratification of the pact, which will enter into force after the treaty is approved by the Senate and the Japanese Diet.

The treaty was approved by a vote of 84 to 0 in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The committee also approved a resolution authorizing the President to negotiate a peace treaty with Japan.

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Gov't Blames Riot on Red Agitators

A Government statement issued early this morning after an emergency Cabinet meeting described yesterday's riot at the Diet as "nothing but a planned destructive action instigated by Communists in line with the international Communist principle of taking over the world."

The statement added that there was nothing wrong with the riot itself, but that the riot was a planned destructive action instigated by Communists in line with the international Communist principle of taking over the world.

590 Injured As 12,000 Battle Police

Two lives were believed lost yesterday evening as about 12,000 fanatic Zenzen students fought the riotous Diet guards and engaged in a bloody, club-swinging, stone-throwing battle with the police.

The riot broke out after the Diet opened for the day. The rioters, who were armed with clubs, stones, and other weapons, fought the riotous Diet guards and engaged in a bloody, club-swinging, stone-throwing battle with the police.

Ike Blames Tension On Int'l Communism

Official Plan To Greet Ike Is Announced

MANILA (AP)—President Dwight D. Eisenhower, leaving here at 10:30 a.m. today for his first visit to Japan, said today that the U.S. "must remain alert" to the threat of international Communism.

The President, who is on his way to Japan, said today that the U.S. "must remain alert" to the threat of international Communism.

Diet Recess Plan Decision Postponed

Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi said today that the decision to recess the Diet would be postponed until after the riot.

The Prime Minister said today that the decision to recess the Diet would be postponed until after the riot.

Shinoda States Reds Behind Present Rallies

Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi said today that the present rallies were being held by the Reds.

The Prime Minister said today that the present rallies were being held by the Reds.

Railway Strike Staged With Little Confusion

An early morning strike by railway workers in Japan was staged with little confusion.

The strike was staged with little confusion.

Antipact Body Plans Big Demonstration

The Japan Anti-Communist League plans a big demonstration in Tokyo.

The Japan Anti-Communist League plans a big demonstration in Tokyo.

THE JAPAN TIMES, FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 1960

June 15-6 Diet Riot



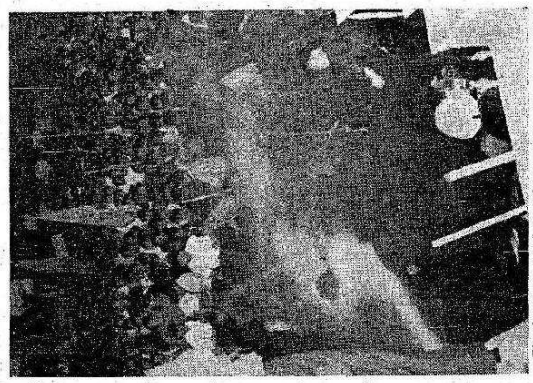
An overturned police truck burns after being set on fire by the mob.



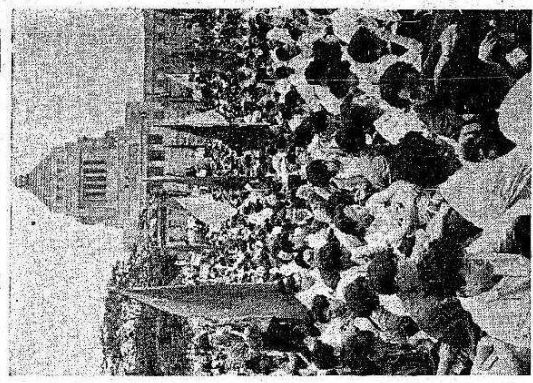
A solemn-faced Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi proceeds to the Cabinet meeting room after his residence was surrounded by rioting mobs once early yesterday morning.



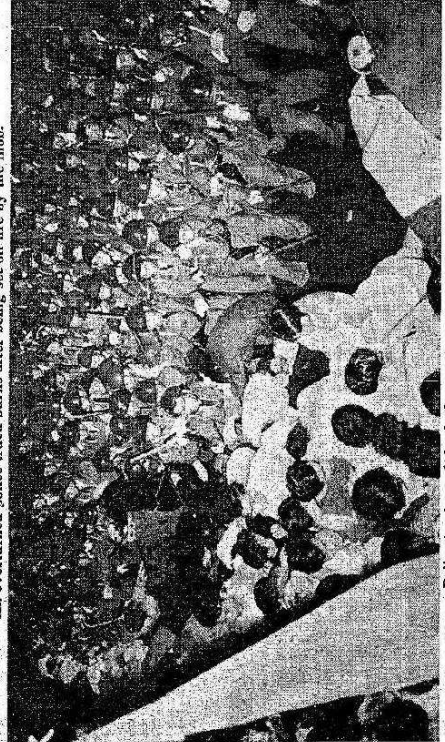
Injured youngsters lie helpless on the ground.



Fire hoses are used to fight back the charging students. It was the first time in Japan this tactic was employed. Police followed up the action with a steel-swinging attack.



Earlier in the day, the demonstrators staged a quiet sit-down outside the Diet compound. They gave little indication of what was to follow later in the evening.



Police try to push back the surging mass of demonstrators.

¹⁸⁶ The Japan Times 17.6.1960 page three. The Japan Times archives. Access 15.10.1960.